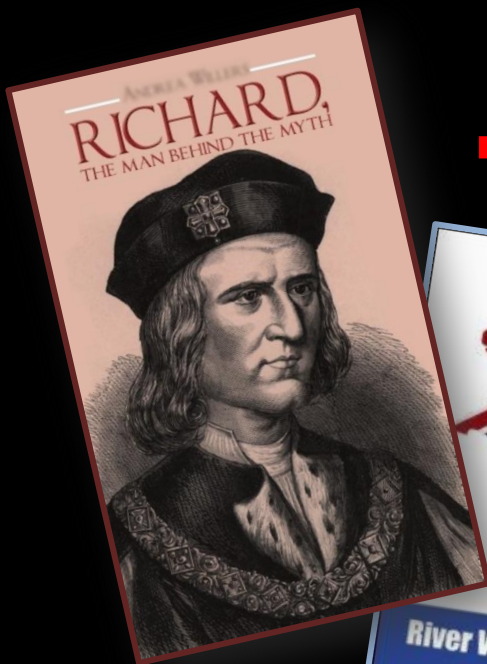


# HISTORUM

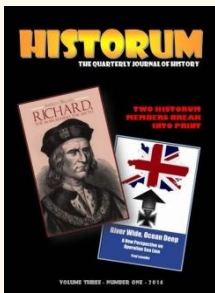
THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY



**TWO HISTORUM  
MEMBERS BREAK  
INTO PRINT**



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2014  
Serial  
nine

1.

**Historum the quarterly journal** consists of the best writing from the **Historum** web site, an English language history forum whose membership is composed of history aficionados from all corners of this event filled globe we call home.

2.

Now that this journal is a reality we leave it to Historians to look at this accident and prove that it was inevitable. *[that's an old joke]*

3.

We find agreeable these words of jurist Lewis Powell, "History balances the frustration of 'how far we have to go' with the satisfaction of 'how far we have come.' It teaches us tolerance for the human shortcomings and imperfections which are not uniquely of our generation, but of all time."

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Our obit (see back pages) of the famous poet William Butler Yeats notes that he died on the twenty ninth of January 1939.

Exactly nine months one day later, I, don Pedro was born. Of these two facts I make no claim. It is what it is.

If you wish to make something of it... be my guest.

After all, that is how legends are made. And who wants to be unfamous?

Thanks  
*Pedro*



The Life of Galba .....	4
The Concentration Camp in Depth .....	6
Was Freud a Fraud? .....	14
The Birth of an Obsession.....	17
Third Rock from the Sun .....	20
Could Alexander have had off spring in India? .....	22
Identity and Equality .....	23
The Mongol Invasions of Japan .....	31
Bohemond of Taranto .....	34
<i>Book Review</i> Operation Sea Lion .....	37
The Frontier Thesis and American History .....	37
Dangerfield Newby <i>Martyr for Freedom</i> .....	49
The Kakatiyas of Telangana .....	52
<i>Book Review</i> Richard, Man behind the Myth .....	61
Pre-Battle Speeches, Truth or Fiction? .....	62
John Gibbon, Loyal and Able Soldier .....	70
Causes of the First Punic War .....	79
heavy cruiser <i>Blücher</i> .....	84
Obituaries as History –W.B. Yeats .....	94



ABOVE: the Gecko that hangs out on our front porch. A potential Historum mascot? I think. Not.



# HE

## LIFE OF Galba

by Salah

Galba, who ruled the Roman Empire from June of 68 to January of 69 CE, was the first emperor without connections to the Julio-Claudian Dynasty. Though the Senate initially saw him as a welcome alternative to Nero, Galba would prove to be a short-lived emperor. His death would herald the beginning of the first Roman civil war in a century, the Year of Four Emperors.

Servius Sulpicius Galba was a contemporary of Jesus Christ. He was likely born in either 5 or 3 BCE; his birth date may have been December 24th. His father was a Gaius Sulpicius Galba, coming from a prominent Republican family; his mother was Mummia Achaia. He is known to have married, his bride's name being Lepida, and he sired two sons by her. Tragically, both Galba's wife and their children all died prematurely, the sons apparently in early childhood.

It seems that Galba matched his prestigious ancestry with a degree of financial and administrative talent. As a youth he enjoyed the favor of Augustus' wife, Livia, who reportedly 'adopted' him and left him an enormous sum of money upon her death (which was, unfortunately, confiscated by Tiberius). All of the Julio-Claudian emperors favored Galba to some extent - he gained a reputation for being trustworthy, frugal, and embodying many of the traditional features of Roman manhood.



Over the winter of 67-68, Julius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, tried to seduce Galba into joining him in a revolt against Nero. Galba decided to bide his time. By the spring of 68, Vindex's revolt was open and common knowledge in Rome and the provinces, and the governor of Aquitania called on Galba to give him military support in crushing the rebel. It was time for Galba to make a decision - on April 2nd, at Carthago Nova he declared himself a 'representative' of the Senate and the People of Rome. With the support of his military deputy Titus Vinus, and his fellow Spanish governor Salvius Otho, Galba mobilized his province's legion and began recruiting another, apparently with intentions to back the rebellion of Vindex.



The events of 68 were only slightly less chaotic than those of the following year. Another provincial governor, Clodius Macer of Africa, revolted, but like Galba he modestly refused to declare himself emperor. Verginius Rufus, governor of Germania superior, defeated Vindex and was proclaimed emperor, but he also refrained from accepting the title. Meanwhile, Galba's agents in Rome managed to bribe Nymphidius Sabinus and his Praetorians into abandoning Nero. Despite the victory of a Neronian governor over Vindex, Nero's fate was sealed, and he was driven to suicide.

### Reign and Death

Galba, with Vinius, Otho, and two legions at his back, marched across southern Gaul and into Italy in the summer of 68. Nymphidius Sabinus was already plotting against the new emperor, demanding to be recognized as prefect for life - he was murdered by the Praetorians before Galba even reached the city. Upon reaching the outskirts of Rome, Galba's forces had to engage in a rather bizarre skirmish, apparently with an assembly of armed men who wished to be recognized as a legion. They seem to have been a force of volunteers or conscripts that Nero had raised for the war against Vindex. They clamored for Galba's recognition as a legion, and when he ignored them, they attacked his men and were repulsed.

The new Emperor was austere, severe, and detested spending money. This may have made him a more stable ruler than Nero had been, but it did nothing to endear him to his followers and soldiers. Galba surrounded himself with an inner circle, that seems to have consisted of corrupt personalities nursing their own ambitions. They included his freedman Icelus, his close friend and now-Praetorian prefect Cornelius Laco, and Otho and Vinius, whom he had brought from Spain.

Galba issued a series of unpopular military reforms - he disbanded his predecessor's German Guard, and he refused to pay donatives to the Praetorians and the Rhine legions. Military discontent in Gaul and Germania reached a peak over the winter of 68-69, and in January the garrison of Germania inferior declared the legional commander Aulus Vitellius emperor in opposition to Galba.

Historians debate whether Galba was unaware of Vitellius' revolt, or if he was sending a defiant message to the usurper when he adopted Calpurnius Piso Licinianus as his son and successor. Piso was a young patrician with no practical experience; what earned him Galba's favor is unclear. What is clear is that Otho was not impressed with this choice. The former governor of Lusitania had treated Galba as a father-figure and had loyally supported him thus far, and felt he was entitled to become the heir apparent.

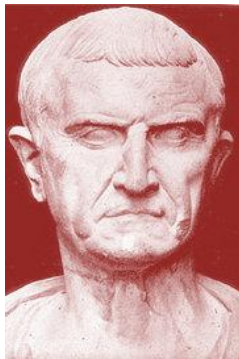
Burning with resentment, Otho formed a conspiracy that also implicated Laco and elements of the Praetorians. On the morning of January 15th, 69 CE, Galba and his procession were attacked in the Forum Romanum by a gang of Praetorians. The Emperor was deserted by all of his attendants except for a legionary centurion; both men were killed and decapitated. The assassins did not forget Piso, who sought refuge in the Temple of Vesta. He was unceremoniously dragged out of the Temple and butchered.

Under different circumstances, Galba may have made an above-average emperor. He was an able administrator and seems to have been a courage, honorable man, but unfortunately he was prone to cronyism and allowed his underlings too much influence. His death ushered in the Year of Four Emperors, one of the most bloody and chaotic years in the history of the Roman Empire.

### Sources:



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- Tacitus



# The CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM:

## IN DEPTH

by John Paul Harrison

**\*\* Cite this author if you use any part of this essay \*\***

This article, discusses the Holocaust ([History in Focus](#)) and six "nazi killing centres" (USHMM: [The Holocaust](#) 28) and one Croatian "fascist killer" camp, Jasenovac ([Search the www.HolocaustResearchProject.org Website](#)). The Holocaust is a subject well served by the Internet, with much research containing excellent sources dealing with the genocide in nazi-occupied Europe. The largest Holocaust museums and archives have excellent online data crammed with online exhibitions, digitised primary sources, and thoughtful commentary. This is research - corrective, independent peer reviewed evidence, presented largely without bias.

It is fair to say that people are easily influenced, and that people read books, therefore people will be influenced by books. So much so that they could care less about the real data and the real stories. Personally, for me, with books I'm just getting the author's agenda. Historical material for me must contain evidence, testimony, artifacts, records, credibility, physical evidence. All of these, if the material wants us to believe it.

Not all revisionists are hostile, antisemitic bigots. The Institute of Historical Review claims "An awareness of factual history is essential to an understanding of the great issues of our age. Especially during these troubled times, the work of the IHR in countering socially harmful historical lies, war propaganda, censorship and intellectual oppression is urgently important" ([ABOUT THE INSTITUTE for HISTORICAL REVIEW \(IHR\)](#)). This IHR is not to be confused with the Institute for Historical Research, who say "The Holocaust is a subject well served by the Internet, with a good number of quality websites dealing with the genocide in Nazi-occupied Europe. Many of the largest Holocaust museums and archives have excellent websites crammed with online exhibitions, digitised primary sources, and thoughtful commentary. One such site is that of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM, Washington D.C.), which provides extensive resources on all aspects of the Holocaust" ([History in Focus: Holocaust websites](#)).

Note: Links are not active. See original blog or cut and paste in your browser.



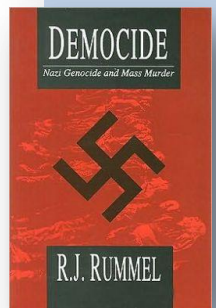
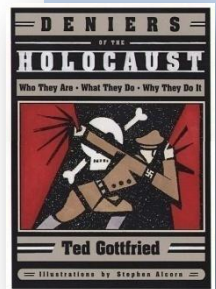
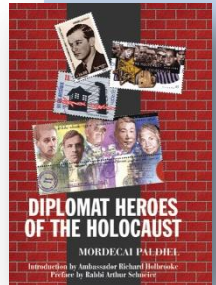
[Nizkor](#) has posted "responses to the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) & [Ernst Zündel](#)". Nizkor "offers a point-by-point refutation of half-truths and untruths. The full text of an original IHR pamphlet is included, with the IHR's questions and answers reproduced unaltered. Should you wish to see their material for yourself, you may examine Greg Raven's copy on the IHR web site, or Ernst Zündel's copy on his web site". ([The Holocaust: 66 Questions and Answers](#)).

Many, if not all of our respectable sources ([Holocaust Documents](#) & [Nizkor](#)) will be identified and cited here. Certainly, many for their own reasons have exaggerated the gas chambers, brutalities, and numbers killed in the Holocaust. Private organisations exaggerate, witnesses and nazis have exaggerated, and even Holocaust Memorial Sites have exaggerated. Why they do so, I wouldn't like to comment, but let us keep with respectable and responsible sources giving us primary materials and research supported by evidence and experts from around the world. The evidence for Axis Killing Centre gas chambers, and their industrial scale systemic genocide of human beings by the nazis and collaborators suffocates the deniers. The research and ever growing Holocaust canon overwhelm extreme revisionists and their fabricated, obfuscating drivel.

The Holocaust is one of the most thoroughly and internationally researched periods of history, it is also among the most befuddled and abused events in history. Why? Because while international researchers work together and more and more victims are identified: authors, website posters, deniers and freaks are clouding the issues, reading and writing rubbish. Without even researching the empirical evidence or using the resources that know: Yad Vashem, USHMM, Holocaust Research Project, Survivor testimony, Wiesenthal, The EU, the UN. No, "the real story is it never happened or it was exaggerated" they say. "Try this book by Wotsisname, the Jews were killed by aliens". "No gas at all". So many nuts, but so many Neo-nazis too. "Denial is the eighth stage of genocide" (say Genocide Watch).

The Holocaust is not, as deluded and facetious deniers sneer; "a hoax because the victor writes history. The Allies made it all up. There were no gas Chambers". While Rummel suggests "eleven million people died by nazi genocide during World War 2" (Rummel, 1993: [NAZI GENOCIDE AND MASS MURDER](#)) the Holocaust was an extremely cruel and violent persecution and genocide of human beings no matter who and what they were. Jews and other groups do not own the rights on nazi and Axis victims during World War 2. No-one has the right to profit or extort from World War 2 fascist genocide or any other. Many victims are "faceless" or lost to time, this essay will treat them all with respect.

## Recommended Reading



**R.J. Rummel** (2013) "In regard to difficulty of arriving at a definitive total, the Jewish holocaust is instructive. Although the Germans are noted for their rule following and record keeping, and the relevant German archives were available after the war, and participants could be systematically interviewed, there is still considerable disagreement among experts over the number of Jews murdered. Estimates vary from 4,200,000 to 6,000,000 dead, or by near 43 percent" (*Estimating Democides: Methods and Procedures*)

Consult *Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder* (1991) by R. J. Rummel, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Hawaii. Rummel has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize and been the recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Conflict Processes Section of the American Political Science Association and the International Association of Genocide Scholars' Award for Distinguished Lifetime Contribution to the Field of Genocide and Democide Studies and Prevention (Source: Amazon, accessed Jan. 2014).

[Hawaii.edu. Nazis. Power Kills & Historians on the War Path](#)

[Nazi Body Count: 20,946,000 Non-Battle Deaths](#)

Deniers: the growing, fascist international movement arguing logical and lexical semantics, argue against nazi and fascist genocide and the Holocaust canon ([I Need Help About Hitler -Historum](#)). Deniers certainly need help because it seems they don't care why they are arguing, just as long as they keep arguing; making up ludicrous stories to rehabilitate fascist heroes. Perhaps it is inexcusably ignorant to suggest: "the six million figure has been turned into an article of pure faith for some people, instead of a best approximate guess with the figures available at the time and rounded up to a media friendly number". The Holocaust is not an inviolate truth where people "stop trusting any of the facts and go looking for alternative theories". There are no precise statistics for Jews killed in the Holocaust but the foregoing ignorance is easily exposed by careful research ([Revisionists and Holocaust Deniers Have No Credible Case - Historum - History Forums](#)). Third Reich researcher (Cambridge historian) and expert witness Sir Richard John Evans, FBA, FRSL, FRHistS, estimates between 5.7 and six million Jews were murdered (The Third Reich at War , 2010). The bulk of research confirms the number of victims stands between five and six million.

Earlier assessments range from 5.1 million (Prof. Raul Hilberg) to 5.95 million (Jacob Leschinsky). Professor Yisrael Gutman and Dr. Robert Rozett in the Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, estimated the Jewish losses at 5.59–5.86 million, and a study headed by Dr. Wolfgang Benz presents a range from 5.29 million to six million (Yadvashem.org). Eichmann was executed by the state of Israel in 1962, in Ramla, Isreal, for his role as coordinator of logistics for "the final solution to the Jewish question." Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal (Simon Wiesenthal Biography - Facts, Birthday, Life Story - Biography.com) said: "The world now understands the concept of 'desk murderer'. We know that one doesn't need to be fanatical, sadistic, or mentally ill to murder millions; that it is enough to be a loyal follower eager to do one's duty." (Levy 2006, pp.157–158). Those idle bigots who do not wish to consult research and would rather offer ludicrous sneers, would do well to put in some effort.

Studied by the international community publishing academic journals, documentation, conference anthologies, diaries, primary sources, memoirs, and albums: the Holocaust was the systematic, state-sponsored murder of [approximately five to six million] Jews and many other victims by fascists, nazis, and their [collaborators](#) during World War II. Despite deniers' distortions, one sixth of all Jews murdered by the nazis were gassed or otherwise destroyed at Auschwitz (Yad Vashem, 2013). "At least 1.3 million people were deported to Auschwitz, of whom camp authorities murdered 1.1 million primarily in massive gassing operations"



To learn more about the Holocaust cut and paste the following in your browser.  
<http://www.ushmm.org/learn>

This is the information, primary evidence and empirical testimony in the Holocaust canon: the research carried out by international scholars, governments, and independent organisations. Empirical eyewitness testimony, survivor memoirs. The ideal mix of memory combined with solid primary source and corroborating evidence and artifacts: this is among the strongest and most convincing case builders known to science. Therefore the Holocaust is not, as deluded and facetious deniers sneer; "a hoax, because the victor writes history". Denying Holocaust gas chambers and canonical materials, all the witnesses and archived primary source details of the Holocaust: is like denying the rain is wet.

Prior to the nazi killing centers and their extermination camp concept -- Axis fascists and collaborators used the [Einsatzgruppen](#), mobile killing units, to kill Jewish people and other "undesirables" (as they called them) encompassing a wide selection from humanity: the religious minded and of many faiths, political opponents, anti-fascists, Gypsies, the disabled, mentally ill, and other human beings who did not suit their ideologies.

#### [Einsatzgruppen - Killing Squads Footage](#)

YouTube

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j566WQquCbM>

Those massacres showed glaring problems inherent in the extermination of masses of people, among them were the needs for speed, efficiency for bodies removal in entirety, secrecy, and disposal of belongings. Killing centers, however, provided both expediency and secrecy, and the later extermination camps facilitated physical and psychological abuse in the destruction of what they called "undesirables" ([Treblinka: The Killing Center](#)).



**The Balkan Auschwitz - Jasenovac** 18  
After the German invasion and dismemberment of Yugoslavia in April 1941, the "Independent State of Croatia" was established as a pro-nazi government. Ustaša – Croatian Revolutionary Movement (Croatian: Ustaša – Hrvatski revolucionarni pokret) was a Croatian fascist and terrorist organization active before and during World War II ([Ustasa \(Croatian political movement\) -- checked and verified](#)). In the fascist run Croatian camp of Jasenovac, from August 1941 to April 1945, thousands of Serbs, Jews, and Romas, as well as multinational anti-fascists, were murdered. The total count of men, women and children killed there is not known but is estimated at 80,000-100,000 (Jasenovac Memorial Site, 2013). Yet despite the crimes committed there, most of the world has never even heard of Jasenovac ([Jasenovac Research Institute](#)).

Jasenovac Footage - Online:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CS0y3NWZspE>

Jasenovac was just one death camp in fascist occupied Yugoslavia, but by far the largest. In Jasenovac (comprising Bročice, Krapje, Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška Camps) victims of racial genocide (including children) in World War II fascist Croatia were exterminated ([Jasenovac Memorial Site](#)). "The List of Individual Victims of the Jasenovac Concentration Camp is the result of work done so far by experts from the Jasenovac Memorial Site, and it is [still] not complete" (Jasenovac Memorial Site, 2013). The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, D.C. presently estimates that the Ustaša regime murdered between 77,000 and 99,000 people in Jasenovac between 1941 and 1945 "It should be emphasised that, in contrast to Nazi camps such as Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibor and others, in which gas chambers were used to generate an "industry of death", in Jasenovac prisoners were killed in the most primitive, manual ways, using cold weapons and tools" ([JUSP Jasenovac - FAQ's](#)).

Since 2009, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum believes the Ustaše regime "murdered between 66,000 and 99,000 people of all ethnicities (but mostly Serbs) in Jasenovac between 1941 and 1945". During the period of Ustaše rule, "a total of between 330,000 and 390,000 ethnic Serbs and more than 30,000 Croatian Jews were killed either in Croatia or at Auschwitz-Birkenau" ([Jasenovac](#)).

## Children

"Never before in history had children been singled out for destruction for no other reason than having been born. Children, of course, were no match for the nazis' [this author deliberately does not capitalize the word "nazi"] mighty and sophisticated killing machine .." (*Sheltering The Jews*, Dr. Paldiel, 1996, p.103) 1. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)<sup>2</sup> marks children as especially vulnerable during the Holocaust, nazis and their collaborators killed children for ideological and racist reasons, and in retaliation for partisan attacks and nazi confabulated claims of resistance to their regime. Confabulation and distortion so popular with the nazis, are now used by nazi sympathisers and Holocaust deniers for excuses and obfuscation ([HDOT : Holocaust Denial](#)). Estimates reach 1.5 million murdered children during the Holocaust: including more than 1.2 million Jewish children, tens of thousands of Gypsy children and thousands of institutionalized, handicapped children. The numbers and full statistics for the children killed by the nazis will never be known. The scale and scope of the 'final solution' of the 'Jewish question' were extreme even in the horrific annals of genocide (Bloxham, 2010, pp. 317-335).





[www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/holocaust/pop-up-map.htm](http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/holocaust/pop-up-map.htm)

## The Killing Centres

Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Chelmno, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka, were those so called "Death Camps" situated in Poland. The nazis established six Extermination centres in occupied Poland, with apparatus especially designed for mass murder (Wiesenthal Information Centre) 3 . Between 1941-1945 and for the first time in history: industrial plants were used to kill people during the nazi Final Solution to the Jewish Question 4 (Oxford Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 2013). Six nazi extermination camps were established for the mass genocide of up to three million Jews (The Danish Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies). Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Chelmno, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka, were those so called "Death Camps" situated in Poland. Gypsies and other groups from all over Europe were also sent to the extermination camps.

## Six Fascist Industrial Killing Factories

Auschwitz is a symbol of terror, genocide, and the Holocaust. It was the largest Nazi extermination and concentration camp, located in the Polish town of Oswiecim, 37 miles west of Krakow. "One sixth of all Jews murdered by the Nazis were gassed at Auschwitz" ([http://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Mi...20-%205782.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Mi...20-%205782.pdf)). Established 1940, in the suburbs of Oswiecim, annexed to the Third Reich by the Nazis its name was changed to Auschwitz. It became the largest nazi Death Camp in 1942.

Belzec was one of the first major death camps established by German occupation forces and the SS, for Jews in Eastern Poland during World War II. With Sobibor and Treblinka: Belzec was one of the three killing centers referred to as the "Reinhard camps," (Aktion Reinhardt) in memory of Reinhard Heydrich.

The Chelmno death camp in the Kolo County in central Poland became operational on 8 December 1941. The name given by the German occupation authorities to Chelmno was Kulmhof. The entire Jewish population from the Warthegau was to be exterminated there by means of poisonous gases. The Wartheland, a territory incorporated into the Third Reich, included both the Wielkopolska and the Lodz Provinces.

**Majdanek:** though mass executions by poison gas would not begin at Majdanek until September 24, 1942, the SS began preparing in the summer, requisitioning nearly a ton Zyklon-B, which was already under use at Auschwitz-Birkenau, in late July 1942. The first gassings were conducted in makeshift gas chambers while the camp was being expanded. Among the first Jews executed were the remaining Jews in the Lublin ghetto, who were moved to Majdanek in November 1942 when the ghetto was liquidated.



**Sobibor: the SS murdered circa "167,000"** prisoners at the Sobibór extermination camp (USHMM, 2013). In 1965, a monument was erected on the historic site; in 1993, a museum was opened. Jews and other ethnic groups were murdered by members of the SS in Sobibór – the exact number is not known. Most of the victims came from the Generalgouvernement, but also from Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia, the Soviet Union, France, and the Netherlands.



**Treblinka:** The extermination camp in Treblinka was built by Germans in mid-1942 near the already existing Penal Labour Camp. "From July 1942 through November 1943, the Germans killed between 870,000 and 925,000 Jews at the Treblinka killing center" (USHMM, 2013). The extermination site was established within the framework of Action Reinhard, which aimed at physical liquidation of Jews. TREBLINKA II covered an area of 17 ha and was surrounded by high barbed wire fences. The camp's crew consisted of 30-40 Germans and Austrians who administered the camp, and 100 – 120 guards, mainly of Ukrainian origin. Irmfried Eberl was appointed the Camp Commandant, his follower was Franz Stangl. Kurt Franz was the deputy commandant.



## Evidence versus Deniers

Among my sources; *Hitler's Death Camps: The Sanity of Madness*, (Konnilyn G. Feig, 1981) is a fastidious chronicle of Hitler's plans and the nazi Death Camps. Feig is brutally honest in conveying the scope and horror of the Holocaust. Feig criticises the Allies for not attacking railroads leading to the camps, or bombing the crematoriums. "This book sheds the light of understanding on one of the most horrifying and inhuman episodes in history. Drawing on her first hand visits to all 19 primary concentration camps, on her contact with survivors and former Nazis, and on 20 years of study, the author brings the perspective of a historian and scholar to her quest for the meaning of the holocaust".

"Holocaust deniers" deny well established empirical, archived and physical evidence from the Holocaust. Deniers assert that the murder of approximately six million Jews during World War II never occurred. The Germans "are victims of a Zionist plot to extort vast sums of money from them on the basis of a hoax". Under Holocaust denier David Irving -- "Sink the Battleship Auschwitz!" -- they deny the existence of the poison gas chambers in the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp, as that camp lies central to the Holocaust as the icon for Jewish suffering 5. In my experience Holocaust deniers and revisionists post anonymously on internet web sites, often outside of their own countries' jurisdictions. They argue, obfuscate and ridicule Holocaust research and empirical testimony, often they display antisemitic ideology and accuse Historians of "Zionist sympathies" or even allege that those who argue against revisionist bluster and distortions are Zionists themselves. Their actions would ordinarily incriminate Holocaust deniers for the explicitly illegal act of Holocaust Denial and the promotion of nazism 6. Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism is in my opinion very often synonymous with neo-nazist ideology.

In conclusion, the weight of evidence as listed here, alongside US Holocaust sources (USHMM, Washington) and international research, Yad Vashem, all the Death Camps memorial sites, primary sources and clear, proven nazi policy to exterminate people overwhelms and suffocates Holocaust deniers. Extreme revisionists say "the gas chambers did not exist, they are an invention or an allied propaganda campaign".

Deniers are liars. The goal of Western Holocaust deniers is political: they want to rehabilitate Nazism and fascism in general, and Adolf Hitler in particular. Holocaust deniers promote anti-Semitism and sometimes anti-Israel sentiment. Holocaust denial in the Arab and Muslim world appears driven primarily by the goal of undermining Israel's existence (Evans, 2002) 9. After the enormous suffering inflicted upon the world by the Axis powers, nazi regime and fascists especially in Europe, a number of European countries have enacted laws criminalizing both the denial of the Holocaust and the promotion of Nazi ideology.

These laws aim to prevent the resurrection of Nazism in Europe and any public resurrection of Nazi views through speech, symbols, or public association. Groups and individuals promoting Nazism are termed "neo-nazis". They do not limit their ideology to antisemitism. Integral to their message is hatred of other minority groups, most often individuals of African, Arab and Asian descent, and immigrants from non-European nations 10 (Bazylar, M. J., Yad Vashem, 2013).

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# Was Freud a Fraud?

# FREUD



by Gile na Gile

The novelty of Freud's thought has waned by now but the 'unconscious' was a concept which had no scientific legitimacy prior to his work whereas nowadays it is an accepted norm and regarded as a fully integrated aspect of our psyche. All schools of modern psychotherapy regardless of theoretical persuasion are indebted wholly or in part to the work of Freud as are the many analysands (clients/patients) who have benefitted from it's insights. Of course there are many lousy therapists and cowboy interpreters but his basic postulate that unconscious drives significantly influence conscious decision-making won widespread acceptance and completely changed the intellectual landscape of the 20th century - the debatable elements such as Oedipal entanglement, the reductiveness of his treatment of childhood sexuality and so on have all been much revised but the 'unconscious' is the rock upon which all his work stands.

The dream is an exemplary product of this unconscious; it produces stories, situations and dramatic contexts in which we as 'actors' participate yet cannot consciously alter - we cannot step into our dreams and 'direct' them,

they remain elusive to the active rational and 'floating' awareness of our conscious ego. That they belong to a wholly different domain of subjective experience is sufficiently indicated by the fact that once we awake we seldom remember even a fraction of all the adventures into which our dreams had thrust us. I am most often conscious of the fact that I've woken up at the tail-end of a long story in which I have been fully engaged mentally and emotionally but can usually only remember the final segments. With effort I can trace my steps backwards and on occasion recall some of the elements of the dream - I have never remembered a dream in it's entirety - but those I've managed to reconstruct partially all indicate that something other than my conscious self is producing sense and meaning in my own skull; to which "I" am often a mere bystander.

Thus, there is an 'intelligent' narrative generating agency within our minds of which we have no conscious control and Freud proceeded merely from the assumption that this was important enough to warrant investigation.



The unconscious as a concept was around a long time; Freud himself gives examples of who used it and where and in what context and then goes on to show what differentiates "his" unconscious from theirs. There's no mystery here nor is there any especial claim towards originality. What was original is that he developed techniques to investigate it. What is controversial is not the technique itself ie 'free association' (by and large) but the interpretations he has given towards the accumulated body of knowledge built up through his analytical sessions. Thus, we have Lacan fifty years later talking about the "Freudian unconscious and ours" in a move to differentiate classical Freudianism from the psychoanalysis he himself was developing.

The best antidote to scepticism would be to read Freud himself starting with the Breur correspondence and the early case studies particularly that of Anna O. Here you will get a feel for a new science in the making; the "unconscious" is the basic discovery but the notion of there being a 'libidinal' economy and the existence of 'cathetically charged' repressed elements which influence conscious thought are lesser mentioned contributions of importance. The 'Interpretation of Dreams' is a key text which, while lengthy, the gist of which can be summarised in the analysis of two dreams 'The botanical monograph' and 'The dream of Irma's injection'. Providing associations to recalled dream material is usually a failsafe way to unravel the protective skein of those nodal points/areas of 'over-determination' in the unconscious - though I don't agree with Freud that the associations which occur in analysis point necessarily to the paths taken during dream construction. He answers this crucial objection only once himself - and in a pretty flimsy footnote.

Though overall a remarkably honest, and as a consequence, clear and careful expositor of his ideas [in comparison to the obfuscations that would blight post-Freudianism] he nevertheless was prone to the occasional sleight of hand. This question of dream analysis unveiling dream construction was an important evasion however as resting upon it lay the claim to having uncovered the means of interpreting the dream extant; it was enough to show that the dream provided a portal to unconscious material, and in fact, that is what sufficed alone for the purpose of demonstrating the psychoanalytic discovery but in pushing this connection he seems to have had an eye on the ultimate marketability of his ideas.

He is similarly evasive too when this question crops up again under a different guise in the 'Psychopathology of Everyday Life' where he counters Rudolf Schneider's objection that 'the emergence of determining associations to numbers that occur to the mind spontaneously does not in any way prove that these numbers originated from the thoughts discovered in the analysis of them' with the response that a critical examination of this question (and thus the psychoanalytic technique of free association) 'lay outside the scope of this book'. As far as I'm aware he never satisfactorily addressed this problem and if I was commissioned to expose an element of charlatantry in Freud's work I would begin with these two evasions. If Freud was incorrect in assuming (or more likely simply didn't know) that there was a one to one mapping, or parallelism, between latent thoughts and later associations this wouldn't make any difference to the therapeutic efficacy of psychoanalysis but it would call into question some of the discipline's claims regarding psychic determinism.



I find much of Freud off-putting particularly some of his notions on human sexuality and the stages of libidinal attachment; anal sadistic, oral phase etc. and his rigid adherence to a narrow interpretation of "castration". The oedipal relationship has undergone a number of withering critiques and the eternal 'daddy-mommy-me' triangle has been put to rest by some psychoanalytic schools, notably the Lacanians. But what is the actual material available in which to construct a 'science' if not the testament of the patient's speech and how they choose to represent either their dreams, their past or their own interpretations of themselves? The material of psychoanalysis at the end of the day is composed of nothing that can be pinned down and analysed with a microscope; it's subject matter is not concrete and tangible like physics or the other hard sciences and shouldn't even be classified in the same bracket but this isn't to say that it doesn't yield discoveries which offer at times striking insights into the nature of the psyche.

There's also that other consideration that Freud's terminology itself has become hopelessly dated - in part at least because of how his own influence has altered our conceptions of the mind and human nature. We have responded to Freud in such a profound and dramatic fashion that what was once regarded as highly speculative and questionable science is now accepted as the default position of the human psyche - nowadays we simply accomodate without too much fuss behaviour and character traits that would have been previously regarded as neurotic and therefore 'pathological'; the "social structure" has loosened up considerably to admit much more diversity, a change hastened to no small extent by the identity politics of the 60's (liberation narratives etc.) itself underwritten by the academic percolation of Freudian insights.

Critics of Freud get too distracted by a perceived need to apply the same standards of "scientific" verifiability towards the findings of psychoanalysis as are regularly demanded in the "hard" physical sciences. Part of the fault here lies in Freud's own manner of exposition which, at the time, was desperately attempting to secure legitimacy for a fledgling discipline which entailed the presentation to the world of an utterly unheard of methodology for curing nervous disorders.

In order to bolster his case for identifying the source of neurotic complaints which lay in hidden psychical mechanisms of causality (in the early case studies with Breur) Freud richly paraded his medical expertise and used such knowledge to systematically exclude the viability of alternative traditional explanations which were then hopelessly rooted in a fatalistic neurology. There was for a long time a tacit understanding amongst the neurologist fraternity that cases of pathological neuroses were written irretrievably in the blood, tissues and pathways of the nervous system and as such weren't amenable to psychological intervention. Freud upended this presumption but the question remains did he do so legitimately?

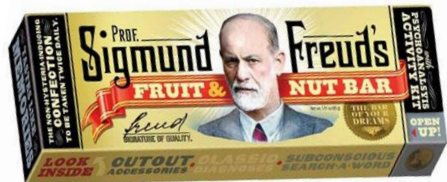
The method stumbled upon; "the talking cure", (or "abreactive catharsis") is, by a happy coincidence, almost identical to that age old remedy of relieving stress known the world over - simply listening intently and sympathetically to someone who is sounding off about their problems. To turn this commonplace artificial extension of empathy -

found among barkeeps, whores, priests and con artists since time immemorial - the best of whom have all developed the necessary antennae to perceive their clients 'inner wishes'; to turn this age old talent into a "science" and make the world believe they are listening to something new takes a special kind of genius to be sure.

Did he satisfactorily demonstrate the dream to be the pathway to this previously inexpressible domain, the unconscious?

I think it offers *an* approach but not the direct route or 'royal road' as he claims it does (it is highly debatable that latent dream thoughts are (re)discovered in the patient's conscious associations) - and so, in this sense, at least, I think he is being somewhat disingenuous. But overall the methodology when applied over time is wont to reveal deeply inlaid formative structures which condition conscious thinking and which in the absence of analysis our patient would be almost certainly blithely unaware of; and so the sleight of hand is both forgivable and understandable.

The biological need for food (giving rise to "the kill", "aggression"; or *thanos*) and sex (*eros*) are the irreducible constants of human nature and their recurrence in any psychoanalytical metapsychology shouldn't come as a surprise. Sooner or later, anyone who has let their normal wakeaday ego behind and melted into the surrounds of an analytic session will find themselves spouting themes centring on one or either of these pivots - that our sexual impulses for instance can be usefully discussed with reference to early childhood experiences is not something we find all that incredible today but it did constitute a revolution in Freud's day and on the whole I think this is something to be grateful for.



## SECRETS OF THE SAMURAI

# The Birth of an Obsession

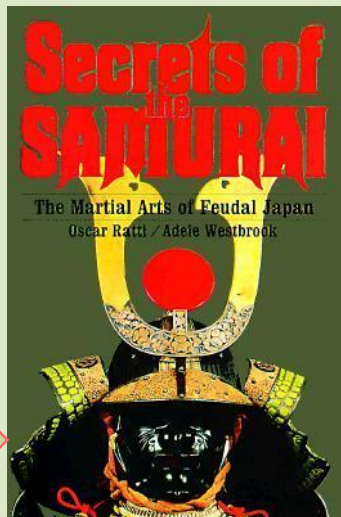
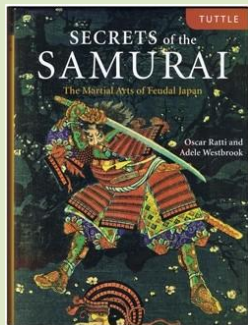
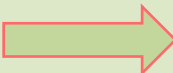
by leakbrewergator

Let me start by apologizing for what you are about to read. I fear this will be one of those rambling, non-sensical write ups....

I remember going to the bookstore with my father when I was a little kid with a pocket full of hard earned allowance money. As I sit here now, I can't be sure of how old I was. Taking into account that I was still getting allowance, and using my own clouded memory, I would say I was 10 or 11 at the time.

As I walked through the store looking for something to waste my money on (Because that allowance was seriously burning a hole in my pocket!)

my eyes came upon this



I'm sure looking at that now with your sophisticated, uber-adult, boring eyes, this really doesn't do much for you. However, as a young, impressionable kid, something about this cover spoke to me.

At this point in my life, all I could really tell you about Japan was that it wasn't China. I had no clue what the heck a Samurai was or what secrets it could possibly contain. But that picture was freaking awesome!! It didn't hurt that the book was on the bargain table, so it was well within my budget. Needless to say, I bought the darn book.

When I was that age, I would work for my dad's landscape business during the summer to earn some extra cash (and to avoid summer camp). I recall the summer I bought this book, I made a point to come home and spend an hour or so reading through its glorious pages. Something about this book just completely captivated my imagination. Little did I know that this one simple purchase would set off what would become a lifelong passion of mine.

When I think back to that summer, I really can't recall what exactly had me so enthralled with this book. I'm sure it had something to do with the fact that the subject was so foreign to me and every turn of the page brought about a completely new learning experience. Maybe it was the illustrations in the book that helped to capture my imagination as well. Who knew that something so simple could speak to a young adolescent so much.

For your viewing pleasure, here are a few samples of the illustrations found in *Secrets of the Samurai*.



## Rhetorical question: How ridiculously cool are these?!



11) KOTE



12) WAKIBIKI



14) UWA-OBI



15) SODE

Whatever it was, *Secrets of the Samurai* had me hooked. This book always had, and always will, have a special place in my library as the book that started it all. I'm even able to overlook the chapter about spontaneous combustion

This is the only book in my collection that I have multiple editions of. If you have ever seen the film *Conspiracy Theory*, you know that Mel Gibson's character had a particular affinity for the book *Catcher in the Rye*. Every time he comes across a copy of the book, he has to buy it. *Secrets of the Samurai*, to a lesser extent, is my *Catcher in the Rye*. Any time I see it in a book store, I have to pick it up and thumb through it. Every. Single. Time.

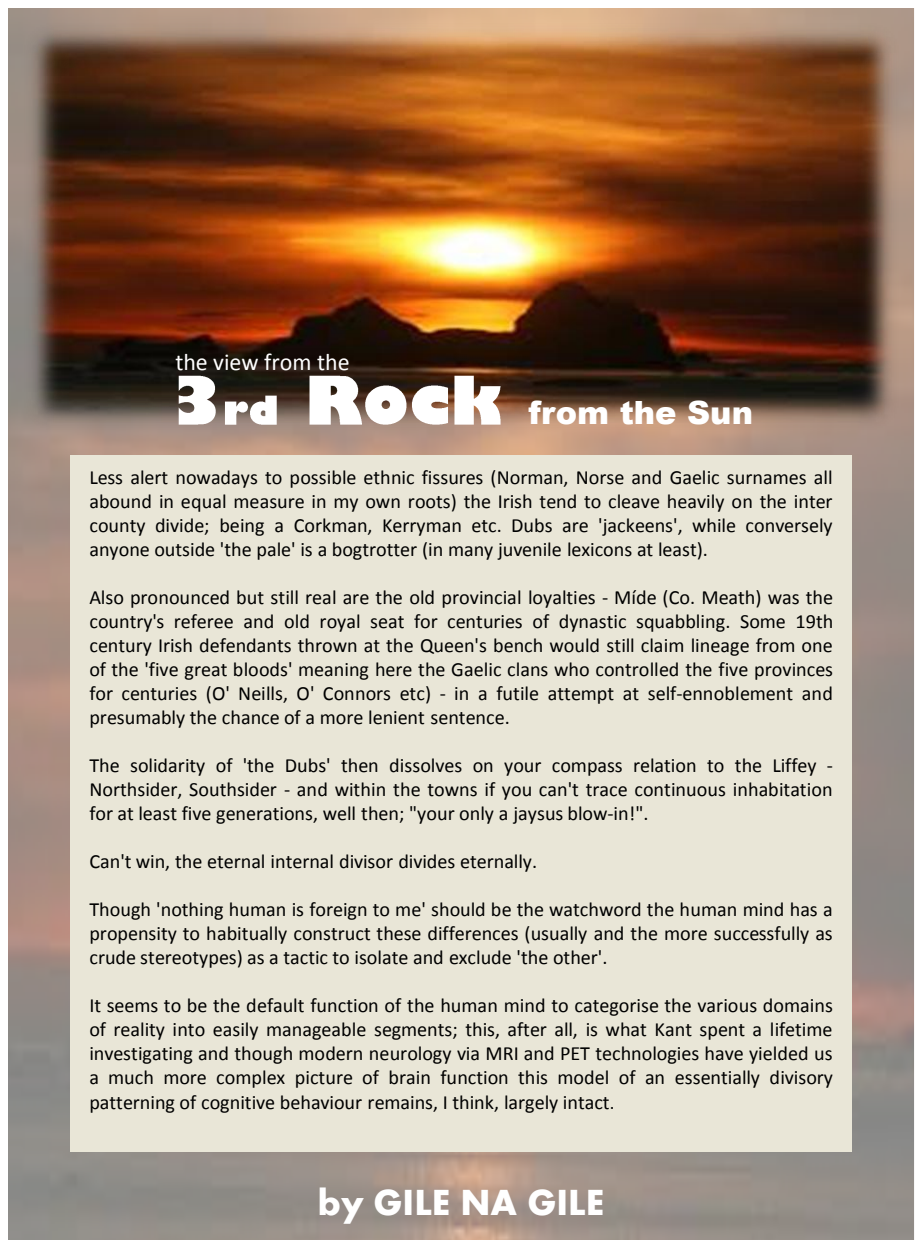
These days, it's more about the nostalgia factor than the actual content of the book. Flipping through the pages and looking at those black and white drawings brings me back to a simpler time. Back then, every book I read had a new fascinating fact. I didn't know any better. Every book painted such a vivid picture of the Samurai and Japan.

Back then, Stephen Turnbull was "GASP" my favorite author. Granted, he was the only author I knew.

This was before Amazon made every book imaginable available to you. Finding something on Japanese history at your local bookstore was all you could hope for. Everything I read was fact to me. I had no other frame of reference to tell me otherwise.

I guess you could say I've become a bit of a snob for history books now. I tend to discredit books with a sketchy bibliography, sparse end notes, or questionable sources.

I'm sure it's this yearning for simpler and more naive times that keeps *Secrets of the Samurai* firmly implanted at the top shelf of my library. Even with its faults, I do owe a huge debt of gratitude to the book that started it all for me....



the view from the

# **3rd Rock** from the Sun

Less alert nowadays to possible ethnic fissures (Norman, Norse and Gaelic surnames all abound in equal measure in my own roots) the Irish tend to cleave heavily on the inter county divide; being a Corkman, Kerryman etc. Dubs are 'jackeens', while conversely anyone outside 'the pale' is a bogtrotter (in many juvenile lexicons at least).

Also pronounced but still real are the old provincial loyalties - Míde (Co. Meath) was the country's referee and old royal seat for centuries of dynastic squabbling. Some 19th century Irish defendants thrown at the Queen's bench would still claim lineage from one of the 'five great bloods' meaning here the Gaelic clans who controlled the five provinces for centuries (O' Neills, O' Connors etc) - in a futile attempt at self-ennoblement and presumably the chance of a more lenient sentence.

The solidarity of 'the Dubs' then dissolves on your compass relation to the Liffey - Northsider, Southsider - and within the towns if you can't trace continuous inhabitation for at least five generations, well then; "your only a jaysus blow-in!".

Can't win, the eternal internal divisor divides eternally.

Though 'nothing human is foreign to me' should be the watchword the human mind has a propensity to habitually construct these differences (usually and the more successfully as crude stereotypes) as a tactic to isolate and exclude 'the other'.

It seems to be the default function of the human mind to categorise the various domains of reality into easily manageable segments; this, after all, is what Kant spent a lifetime investigating and though modern neurology via MRI and PET technologies have yielded us a much more complex picture of brain function this model of an essentially divisory patterning of cognitive behaviour remains, I think, largely intact.

by **GILE NA GILE**



As part of this task of initial cognitive grouping we then tend to differentiate strongly between the various elements or groupings thus erected in order first of all to recognise them more clearly as distinct entities in their own right and then secondarily to proceed to endow them with further characteristics which mark them out ever more strongly from a competing array of other entities.

I think it's in this second act of fleshing out the characteristics of the entities chosen for distinction that the mind proceeds to binarise between one group and another - thus giving birth to simplistic oppositional couplets; for example and most obviously - civilized vs barbarian, freedom vs totalitarianism, capitalism vs communism, primitive cultures vs. industrialised, catholic 'papists' vs protestant 'heretics', god-fearing Christians vs heathens etc. etc. *ad infinitum*.

It is a fact that we cannot think without language; for even where we to dream up the most lucid images as metaphors for a sequence of events or to depict what we take to be a condensed rubric of a totality of relations - ultimately it is the word alone which can convey any sense of what we wish to express. But language is an unworthy and cumbersome vehicle in itself for conveying *truths*; it is very much a device for approximations, for narrowing down and shrinking the domain of the *Real* (that which we cannot grasp) and never in fact capturing it in its essence. Many of the most resonant and symbolically loaded words over time have belonged to such binaries and each is stuffed with the charged loads of centuries of ideological dispute - so much so that an immense flotilla of associative signifiers have come to stick barnacle-like on each.

So, what is commonly said about a defensive reaction triggered in response to the 'other' is true, it is primal and emotive and it is physically inscribed somehow in our neural pathways through constant repetition, thus to a large extent it has become *unconscious*. Each of us are schooled to believe a simplistic explanatory tale of 'who we are' and 'how we came to be', what makes our pattern of life justifiable to ourselves and in many respects and by extension superior to all others around us. There is a graded hierarchy established of all peoples through time and space and an intricately woven code knitted together via these emotive binary buttons which are liable at any time to be deployed in Pavlovian fashion by opportunistic ideologues.

Likewise, I think most people are firmly aware of this and while we spend the first quarter of our lives absorbing these localised mythologies (of collective self-aggrandisement), and the second perhaps marshalling them to expertise our quiet and more reflective third quarter is happily engaged in calmly disassociating ourselves from them - thus the possibility for an occasional piece of 'transcendence'

Bottom line, we're all on this rock together I think.



I have mulled over this possibility at some time or other. If we just accept, to some extent, that Alexander really spent some significant time in the North-West of India, and really had those engagements with the Kamboja, including the Sogdian Kamboja, among whose results were his marriage to Princess Rukhshana/Rushanakh (Roxanne), daughter of satrap Vakhshuva Darva (Oxyartes), really fought and made peace with Purushottama (Porus), and really allied with King Ambhi, as well as some say possibly a young Chandra Gupta Maurya, then it would not have been unlikely for Alexander to have dallied with and even married with some other Indian princess apart from Rukhshana (Roxanne). A daughter or sister of Purushottama (Porus) or Ambhi, or both, would have



been a reasonable candidate for a political-dynastic union, one which might have escaped the attention of or been ignored by scholars.

His offspring from Rukhshana (Roxanne) apart, other offspring he might have had further east or further south in India might have had a much better chance of surviving the Diadochian witch-hunt following his death.

Some ancient Malayo-Indonesian legends, for instance, thrive on the hypothesis of an offspring from a marriage to a daughter of Purushottama (Porus), who was later packed off to Sumatra for her own safety, whose surviving progeny became the sultans of Palembang and Minangkabau. I know folks, especially royalty, have a certain tendency to spawn their own ancestors' foundation legends, but then, let's just consider the possibilities.

# Could Alexander have had offspring in India ?

**Whyte said:** I'd find it extremely unlikely that the sources would not have mentioned Alexander marrying the daughter of his valiant opponent, Porus. Given how much they gush over the way Alex treated his defeated foe and how they kept track of his previous liaisons, too. Certainly something like a state marriage would have been recorded, so I find this theory unconvincing at best. Not that it ever stopped movies from being made...

**Tornada said:** Well anything is possible. It is possible that Alexander had a whole pack of kids scattered all the way from Macedonia to India. But since no sources mention them, we cannot assume that he did.

**BenSt said:** I think it's far more likely that the Greek rulers in Bactria and Sogdiana had lesser offspring, bastards for sure, that could have spread out and gone on to become progenitors or ancestors of modern day royal lines. I don't see Alexander having legitimate children in this way though since it would have been recorded quite well if he had married. I just wonder what Hephæstion would have said!

# Identity and Equality



by Jim R. McClanahan

## How Marginalization Led the Asian American Association to Social Outreach and Activism

The Asian American Association (AAA) of Miami University (Oxford, Ohio) became an officially recognized student organization on January 27, 1988 ("Profile"). The group has enjoyed a regular cadre of members that has continued to grow and change every four years. I had the opportunity to study its most recent incarnation during the year of its 25th anniversary. I initially set out to discover the importance of the Asian American identity to the members of the AAA. However, my original research question has changed based on what I've discovered in my time as a participant-observer. I noticed that performing their Asian or Asian American identity was really secondary to social outreach and activism. I attended one meeting, for example, where announcements were made for UNICEF donations, volunteering at a local soup kitchen, a scholarship program for minority high school students, a Korean Thanksgiving celebration, and a nighttime anti-rape rally all within the span of 15 short minutes. I was still in the early stages of my study at this point, so I was extremely interested in the focus on helping others and equality.

This prompted me to talk to the president after the meeting. I asked her why these were such important issues to the group. She said, "Well, 4 years ago Miami was not as diverse like it is today. So many Asian students were looking for a place where they could congregate, have a sense of community. Many of them stayed for the activism. We also get many of our members through FUSION" (a yearly stage show that mixes Asian and western genres of dancing). In this paper I will show that the lack of diversity in the school environment influenced Asian American members to gather in a space that they could call their own, and that it was their minority status that fueled their need to represent those who couldn't via social outreach and activism.



## Methodology

A mixed methods approach was used in this study. The data was derived from observation, participant observation, informal conversations among group members, semi-structured interviews, on-line surveys, and research on Asian American Identity by Psychology Prof. Tiffany Yip of Fordham University. A digital recorder placed in plain site was used on one occasion to record nearly 40 minutes of group dialogue. From this, 10 minutes of dialogue was transcribed in a word processor. The interview was conducted in the hallway outside of Benton 213 where the meetings take place. The majority of them did not last any longer than 15 minutes. The questions involved the importance of the group to the interviewee, a time when they were proud to be Asian, and a time when they were negatively reminded that they were Asian. The online survey was posted on Qualtrics and the results were analyzed via a bi-variant correlation comparison in the SPSS statistical program. The field notes were reproduced in a word program uploaded into the Dedoose program; code trees were attached to excerpts from each document to help find patterns.

All participants signed an IRB approved consent form. Those wishing to be given a pseudonym checked a box at the bottom of the document. There were only two people who checked this box, but I decided to give everyone an alias anyway for the sake of anonymity.

## Group Description

The Asian American Association consists of 98 members of different Asian backgrounds from Cambodia to the Philippines, but they do have members of non-Asian descent as well. The majority are of Chinese and Korean heritage. The group was initially created with the expressed purpose of “promot[ing] and provid[ing] opportunities to the communities of Miami University and Oxford, Ohio for education and discussion regarding Asian and Asian-American history, culture and issues” (“Profile”). One way that they promote Asian culture is through the yearly Fusion dance event that mixes Asian and Western dance genres. The event usually draws a large audience because of the high production value and the expertly choreographed dance routines. Fusion introduces the student body to Asian cultural elements of which they may not have been aware of. This is how several of the members first learned about the AAA.

The group also hosts or helps support Asian cultural events. For instance, the Korean American Student Association (KASA), a very close sister group of the AAA, recently hosted a *Chuseok* (Korean Thanksgiving) party. Many AAA members are also KASA members, so they helped plan and set up the proceedings. The organizers used an ingenious ploy to encourage people to learn more about Korean culture. First, they lured a large crowd of Miami students, professors, and their families with the promise of food, and then they stipulated that the attendees could only eat if they participated in three of six events at designated tables. This included learning to write one’s name in *Hangul* (Korean Script), trivia with questions about history, culture, and geography, an “intellectual scavenger hunt” where people had to ask Koreans in the room for translations to Korean script written on slips of paper, trying on traditional Korean *Hanbok* clothing, and playing Korean versions of jacks and hacky sack.

While promoting Asian culture is still important to the group, its priorities have changed since its inception 25 years ago to focus heavily on social outreach and activism. Social outreach includes feeding the poor and raising funds for local and foreign charities. For instance, they are currently collecting money for UNICEF and they are planning to raise money for the survivors of the massive hurricane that recently hit the Philippines. Next year they hope to raise \$400 for Feed My Starving Children (FMSC), a Christian charity that packed 163 million meals for starving children in more than 55 countries during the 2012-2013 season (“Feed My Starving Children”). Activism thus far has been in support of women and minorities. Members recently participated in a “Take Back the Night” rally hosted by the group Feminists Working For Real Democracy (F-WORD). The intended purpose was to speak out against the sexual assault of women and the idea that they should not be out alone by themselves after dark (“Take Back the Night 2013”). KASA has an initiative known as Liberation in North Korea (LINK), which raises awareness of human rights violations in the country and provides relief aid to North Korean refugees (“Korean”).

## Group dynamics and use of space

The group dynamics consistently change with every meeting. Out of the 98 registered members—it recently increased from 90 at the time of this writing—I estimate that not even a third of them are ever present at meetings at one time. This is because priorities outside of the group keep many members from attending on a regular basis. Several people on the roster do not appear in the Miami database, so I'm assuming that they are no longer active members due to graduation or other factors. This means the actual group number is lower than indicated on the AAA online roster page. The gender of those who attend fluctuates as well, but, on average, females tend to outnumber the males. The average has been 18 females and 11 males (29 in total).

The group meets every other Tuesday during active school semesters in Benton Hall room 213. This location is a rectangular-shaped classroom with 2 columns of 5 long desks (10 in total) positioned perpendicular to the longest walls on each side. There are 5 seats at each desk, making it difficult to enter and exit even if they are empty. Since there is a wall blocking one side of each column, the only way out is towards the inner aisle. The static nature of the desks and the cramped condition of the seats limits how the people interact. The only way to converse with someone in a posterior position is either by awkwardly turning around in the seat, standing and turning around, or actually walking over to them.

Members typically arrive with a friend or a group of friends and sit in couples or small groups in various spots around the room. Females tend to show up in couples and sit towards the front quietly chatting amongst themselves. Males, on the other hand, tend to show up in groups and stand, sit on top of the desks, or sit in seats with their feet propped upon the desks towards the back. They are typically more outgoing than their female counterparts. I suggest the males socialize in such a manner because of the static cramped conditions mentioned above. Some female outliers sometimes sit with these groups. The largest group consisting of upwards of 10 people (consisting mostly of males and bunching around 2 desks) tends to tip the [weight](#) towards the back right end of the room, furthest away from the AAA exec board members who stand in the front near the computer and projection screen. These social couples/groups are essentially lone satellites; it isn't until the meeting is called to order that everyone begins to interact as a whole. Often times the attending members are intentionally split up and spread evenly around the room for group discussions or activities. This split is sometimes accomplished by counting people off by a given number and sending them to designated tables. This is done to make sure there are an equal amount of people in each group.

## Diversity and the Formation of Identity

The group watched an online comedy video that elicited a discussion on the nature of identity. Entitled "What Kind of Asian Are You?," the video is about two people meeting in a park while taking a break from running. The scene opens with an Asian American woman stretching. A Euroamerican male appears and starts asking her semi-racist questions about her Asian background, and when he finds out that she is Korean American, he starts trying to speak to her in Korean, bowing, and telling her about his favorite Asian food restaurants. The woman then starts asking him the same questions, and when she finds out that he is part British, she fakes a British accent and starts saying faux British dialogue from the film *Mary Poppins*, as well as dancing like Dick Van Dyke and saying other British clichés. The look of shock appears on the man's face, and he finally says "You are weird." The woman replies, "Really? I didn't notice" before returning to her run. The point of the video is to show that there is a double standard regarding minorities and non-minorities.

The member discussion that followed made it clear that identity is heavily influenced by the environment. For instance, Mai, a female exchange student, states, "When I lived in Japan, I didn't like feel any identity because I was surrounded by all Japanese people. So like I wasn't even thinking about like identity and who I am because I feel like everyone is the same..." She didn't have a well-defined identity because she was surrounded by other Japanese. Mai didn't form her own identity until she came to America and stood out in stark contrast to people who were not like her. I know exactly how she feels because I spent a large portion of my own life surrounded by mostly Euroamerican people. It's hard to differentiate yourself from everyone when everyone looks just like you. It wasn't until I joined the military and was exposed to people of different colors and cultures that my own identity began to form.

The direct opposite of Mai's experience is that of John, a male student from America

with a multi-ethnic background. He explains: I kind of grew up in a huge melting pot like with all different types of people since I grew up in a metropolitan area. So:, it's—it's just like you turn the corner and you are like "woh, I can't believe that that kind of person exists!" Uh:—so: I always grew up with an ever-changing sense of identity based on the type of particular sub culture that I was facing. So:, I—I feel like that's how identity works in general (,) because you identify yourself differently when you are facing a different type of overarching culture. [1]Instead of being awash in a sea of carbon copies of himself, John was surrounded by different people literally around every corner. This exposure caused his identity to be in constant flux depending on what type of people he was facing. In his case, it was hard for him to differentiate himself from a given people when that people didn't stay constant.

Tim, a male student of dual Euro and Asian American heritage, talked about his struggle over identity: "[A]ny minority goes through an identity crisis or whatever. You try to find yourself and see how, ya know, Asian or how like African and how much you want to be that, and so throughout life everything has been a conscious decision. Am I being too Asian? Am I not being Asian enough?" It appears that Tim feels that his identity is something that is performed on a stage before society and that he is being judged on his acting abilities. Is his performance too strong? Is it not strong enough? For him, the struggle was "trying to (,) please others and not be limited to certain stereotypes." He finds this to be a difficult balancing act because he is "ashamed of the stereotypes and stigmas that come with it." This is why, for example, he declined to eat the food prepared on Chinese food day at his previous school. Tim felt it was expected of him just because he was Asian. He is upset because he has to push against expectations, which makes it look like he is ashamed of his Asian heritage when he really isn't.

Tim's experience is similar to Jennifer, a female student of dual heritage from America. I feel it is best to include her entire statement because it is a powerful example of the struggle over identity:

Alright, so: (,)—uh—I guess like in high school—I'm from Oxford by the way—so we are literally surrounded by cornfields and hicky white people [group laughter] and: so I went to—Oh, come on! We all know it's a bunch of white people, so [self-laughter]—um—(,) who are all white. And: so:, uh [self-laughter] we did that and—uh—a lot of them are like rednecks or whatever. I never—I was always considered the Asian: of my friends and—um—I never realized just how much it bothered me until my senior year of high school when I realized I'm only half:. And (,) I'm not really that Asian when you think about it. So I shouldn't really constitute the Asian or the diversity in the classroom when I'm only half and I'm more American than most of my other friends:. And then that changed drastically when I came to college and (,) there's like so many different types of people. And then, finally, there's this past year when I studied abroad when I went to Japan, I realized I'm more American than I am Japanese. But none of the Japanese would view me as Japanese and none of the Americans would view me as American 'cause I was caught in like that "gray area" where I'm half Japanese and half white—like half American at an American exchange school [self-laughter] in Japan, so I never really fit into any of like the categories. And I would fall back on like my friends or whatever and like:—here's an expletive—I'm Jennifer-F\*cking-Smith, so I can like be whoever I want to be and that's my identity. And my friends had to constantly pull me back and be like, ya know, "what you do is not considered Asian just because you do it and your background is Asian. You are whatever you want to be and that's like based off of your actions. Like you—your ethnicity doesn't define you or whatever." And I think that is the most valuable thing about identity that I learned is that just because I am Japanese and I am American doesn't like mean what I do is 'cause I'm one or the other. And I think that is what I learned—and what I think that a lot of people need to get over is like just because we study at King library until 2am doesn't mean that I'm Japanese and I'm Asian, it [self-laughter] means I give a damn about my grades [group laughter]. So, that's my little rant.



She attended a predominantly white high school in Oxford. It was because of this lack of diversity that her friends considered her “the Asian” of the group. It was during the latter part of high school and her entrance into college when her identity began to take shape. Jennifer finally came to realize that she was *only* half-Asian. This distinction became even clearer when she studied abroad in Japan. She explains that her dual heritage placed her in an ambiguous category where she was not quite American and not quite Japanese. Neither group fully accepted her because of her phenotypic difference and/or social distance from cultural norms typically used to identify someone as a member of a group—e.g. having the communicative competence to know when to use nonverbal semiotic codes, such as bowing, in a conversation. Jennifer inhabited two worlds, but was never fully apart of either one. She luckily had good friends who helped her realize: “that just because I am Japanese and I am American doesn’t like mean what I do is ‘cause I’m one or the other.” She boldly proclaims that she is more than the sum of her Euro and Asian American identities. For instance, as she explains, she studies hard for good grades, not because she is part Asian. The “Studious Asian” is one stereotype that she is trying to overcome.

Jennifer’s experience as being “the Asian” in her social group is not unique to the Asian American Association. Many of the members that I talked to during my study mentioned a distinct lack of diversity in their high schools. Common phrases that kept on reoccurring in my notes are “I was the only [insert Asian ethnicity] in my high school” and “There weren’t that many Asians in my high school.” It turns out that Miami University is not much different. Despite the large number of Asian and Asian American students, the majority of students on campus are Caucasian. The number of students who were enrolled at the main Oxford campus in the fall of 2012 was 15,081 individuals (“Enrollment”). Students with Asian heritage only made up 2% (305) of the total number, while Euroamerican students made up nearly 83% (12,488) (Ibid). This explains why many of the members mentioned sometimes feeling alienated on campus. One-hundred percent of those surveyed indicated that they were the only Asian in a classroom. This figure might be based on their major and the area where they attend classes, meaning other majors might have more Asian students and other classes therefore have larger Asian populations. Whatever the reason, the lack of diversity has led to frustrating moments in the classroom.

For instance, Courtney, a Korean American student and joint member of AAA and KASA, states: “When I was in lab class, the typical statement was: ‘Wow, you speak English so good!’ I was like, ‘Well, I hope I do!’ It was a ‘So do you’-sort of thing. My last name doesn’t sound Asian because it’s hyphenated. When people look at it they don’t realize that it’s Asian unless they see the last part. They just see me as being Asian.” I cannot concretely speak to her lab partner’s way of thinking. But I know from personal experience that growing up in a whitewashed environment and later being exposed to different people causes one to view them based on their phenotype (outward appearance) since you know nothing of their background. Hence, if I had come to college straight out of high school after not growing up around Asian Americans, I might wrongly assume an Asian student is from another country.

This lack of exposure to Asian students might also cause one to rely on boilerplate ideas. One-hundred percent of those surveyed indicated that another source of their alienation was being stereotyped as being good at math or martial arts, for example.

## Why Members Join the Group

Many of the Asian American members that I talked to indicated that they didn't really consider themselves to be "Asian." They saw themselves as "Americans" because these are the people they socialized with and America is where they grew up. For example, Courtney, the Korean American student previously mentioned, told me: "I didn't really care about the Asian American thought process; I just considered myself American until someone said something. I didn't feel like they were laughing at me, more like I was laughing with them and laughing at myself. I had a little twinge [of discomfort], though. You see it on TV too, it's always happening." Mary, a Cambodian American student, said the same thing: Yes, like I said, since I grew up in a mostly white suburban neighborhood, I don't really consider myself Asian American until someone brings it up. People will ask "Where are you from?" That is the only time I realize that I am Asian American. But even then, when people ask me where I'm from, I always say I'm from Cincinnati. That's where I was born and raised. Despite what members like the two above stated to me in conversations, 100% of the members surveyed indicated that they considered themselves to be "Asian American" while at Miami, while 90% indicated an "Asian American" identity at home. Previous research has shown that "although Asians in the United States may report feeling as American as their White counterparts, Asians living in the United States often report that their American identities are denied. As a consequence, instead of constructing a mainstream 'American' identity, Asians in the United States opt for a qualified American identity such as 'Asian American' or 'Chinese American'" (Yip 2009: 286). Courtney's experiences of being confused for an Asian exchange student and being belittled for her Asian heritage are good examples of her American identity being denied.

Associate Professor Tiffany Yip of Fordham University has studied the psychology behind the Asian American identity. She explains that an ethnic identity is composed of two parts. The first is the *Trait Identity*, which develops over the course of one's life, but remains situationally-stable. The trait identity is further divided into two parts: *Centrality* ("I have a strong sense of belonging to my racial/ethnic group") and *Private Regard* ("I am happy that I am my race/ethnicity"). The second part is the *State Identity*, which is context dependent and varies across situations and days. The State Identity is further divided into two parts: *Salience* ("My race/ethnicity is the most prominent or salient to my identity") and *Private Regard* ("Today, I was happy that I am my race/ethnicity"). [2]

In her paper "Simultaneously Salient Chinese and American Identities: An Experience Sampling Study of Self-Complexity, Context, and Positive Mood Among Chinese Young Adults," Yip hypothesized that Chinese American students would most likely have context-dependent changes in their salient Asian and American identities depending on the type of people they were in proximity to. She asked a sample of 67 male and female college students ages 17 to 22 to carry around a palm pilot that beeped 6 times a day for one week. Each time it beeped, the volunteers answered 40 questions about the salience of their Asian and American identities. The students answered a questionnaire with similar questions at the end of the week (Yip 2009: 287). The study found that individuals with high centrality felt more Asian when they were around their family, while those with low centrality were the opposite of this. Yip offers a rationale for why the latter might feel more American when around their families. This I think has bearing on the strong American identity of many of the AAA members. She writes: "Individuals with low Chinese identity may be more likely to feel American and Chinese when they are with family because they are less certain about what being Chinese means to them, so they feel elevated feelings of an identity that they already embrace (i.e., American) as well as an identity that they are still exploring (i.e., Chinese)" (Yip 2009: 291-292).

Several factors at play effect why members join the AAA. First, as described in the previous section, the formation of identity is affected by the environment, and since many of the members grew up in predominantly white neighborhoods, they identify more strongly as "Americans." Second, the lack of diversity in their secondary schools led to them being the "token Asian" in their respective social groups. Third, the lack of diversity on the Oxford campus has led to instances where members have had their identity as Americans challenged by the white majority. Fourth, previous psychological research indicates that the denial of identity leads to a shift in identity salience in Asian American students. All of this culminates in the need for members to congregate with other students of Asian heritage to help explore and better define their salient Asian identity, as well as to feel a sense of community with a common people that are different from the society at large.

Barbara, a Korean American Student, comments why she joined: When I first joined the AAA, I don't want to say that I wanted to be with my "kind," but with my kind I guess because in high school I was the only Korean American student. Well, there was another one, but I didn't talk to him because I didn't have any classes with him. I was friends with some Chinese students, but we didn't hang out all that much. So when I came to college, I said: "We should join the Asian American Association and see what it's like" ... I really liked it, so I ended up doing it the next year and met some new friends who were on the exec board ... I guess I found myself identity-wise. Nancy, A Chinese American student, gives a similar reason: It's definitely a good way to get a sense of community because I grew up in Cincinnati, and then I moved to Fairfield at a fairly young age. And Fairfield is mostly a Caucasian suburban neighborhood, and so growing up I was the only Asian person around. And so this is the first time I've actively associated with other Asian Americans, which is great because they've had the same experiences as me growing up.

### **From Asian Culture to Social Outreach and Activism**

The change of focus to social outreach and activism was a recent development in comparison to the group's long 25 year history. It was in reaction to a controversy that took place in late-2012 and extended into the early part of 2013 before I began my study. Stacy, a AAA exec board member, states: Our social outreach and activism goals became a focus to AAA when the Twitter incident last year happened. I am not sure if you know what happened, but a certain student made a twitter account called @OxfordAsians, which made fun of Asians, blacks, and Asian Americans. It had over 1000 followers. We discussed this with the school, but the school didn't do anything for a while, so AAA decided to take action because it affects us all.

We slowly got into the activism and identity thing during MAASU my sophomore year so—2012? It was a conference for Asian Americans all over the Midwest and that kind of opened our eyes just a little. I guess seeing that we were all discriminated or stereotyped by the word "Asian"—not Korean/Japanese/Chinese/ etc.—brought us together more. The twitter account that she speaks of was created by Sam Kornau, a Miami senior and member of the Beta Theta Pi fraternity, "as a parody site" (Krause). The voice of the tweets was of a stereotypical Asian with a child-like form of broken English, and tweets range in topic from the Asian love of eating cats and bad driving to mispronounced song lyrics and names of places on campus (e.g., "slant walk" becomes "srant walk").

The site was quite popular, garnering nearly 1,000 followers before Kornau was pressured to shut it down. The majority of followers were Miami students. This speaks to a broad anti-Asian trend that is prevalent on campus and on other campuses like Ohio State. Anita Mannur, a faculty member of the Asian American Studies program, believes the popularity comes from "the perception that Asians are taking over [the university] even though they're still a small percentage of the overall student body" (Ibid). Essentially, the recent increase in Asian students in comparison to the low numbers of years past has created the false image that the campus is being taken over by Asians. This fear resulted in a kind of xenophobia that fed on Kornau's racist appropriation of Asian identity. His actions not only marginalize Asians as a whole but also serve as a modern day example of Euroamerican colonialism because he is taking from what does not belong to him.

As Stacy points out, the AAA contacted the university about the twitter account, but they were slow to respond. It was only after a former member sent an email to a number of professors that the account was finally shut down after 6 months of activity (Ibid). Needless to say, this wide scale attack on Asians left the group outraged and feeling vulnerable. This is when they reached out to the Midwest Asian American Student Union (MAASU) for help.

MAASU is a not-for-profit organization that was founded to provide a support system for Asian (and) Pacific Islander American (APIA) organizations and other such groups. Among its many purposes are the "organiz[ation of] APIA students in the Midwest for political activism" and the "assist[ance] and encourage[ment of] all APIA students to work toward social change, by providing a forum for social consciousness" ("About").

Therefore, the members of the Asian American Association began to focus heavily on social outreach and activism because their marginalization as a campus minority led them to contact an organization centered on Asian unity and social equality.

## Conclusion

The Asian American Association is a 25-year-old Miami University organization focused on the promotion of Asian culture and social outreach and activism. They support cultural events like Asian dance festivals and holidays and they raise money for local and foreign charities like UNICEF, as well as perform activism in support of women and minorities. The members meet on biweekly Tuesdays during active school semesters in Benton Hall room 213. The number of people who attend meetings is usually 29 in total (18 females and 11 males), meaning that not even a third of the total 98 registered members are ever present at one time. The classroom in which they meet has 10 closely spaced desks, each containing 5 chairs. The cramped nature of the environment effects the way in which members interact. Female members tend to arrive in pairs and sit towards the front quietly chatting to themselves. Males, on the other hand, arrive in groups and adapt to the cramped environment by sitting on top of desks or standing. They tend to be more outgoing than their female counterparts. This might explain their more dynamic use of space.

Group members indicated that the environment in which they grew up helped shape their identities. The majority of those that I talked to grew up in a whitewashed environment where they were the only Asian in their respective social groups. This caused them to identify more as an "American" than with an alternative "Asian" identity. However, their phenotypic difference made them stand out from the white majority; so their American identity was challenged at every turn because of racial stereotypes and flawed ideas on what constituted "authentic" Asian behavior. This challenge was most prominent in the low diversity environment of the Oxford campus. This denial of their American identity has caused a change in the salience of their American and Asian identities. All of this has culminated in the need for members to congregate with other students of Asian heritage to help explore and better define their salient Asian identity, as well as to feel a sense of community with a common people that are different from the society at large.

The focus on social outreach and activism is a recent development. It is in reaction to the controversial twitter account known as @OxfordAsians that was created by a Miami student in order to make fun of Asians, Asian Americans, and African Americans. The huge popularity of the site, particularly with Miami students (nearly 83% being Euroamerican), was a xenophobic response to the recent increase in the Asian student population. The AAA was instrumental in getting the site shut down, but the slow response of the university and the large following of the site left the group outraged and feeling vulnerable. This is when they reached out to the Midwest Asian American Student Union (MAASU) for help. This not-for-profit organization promotes Asian unity and social equality, so the Asian American Association became an arm of MAASU and began focusing on social outreach and activism.

## Notes:

[1] Transcription key:

: Elongation  
— Self-interruption  
(.) Noticeable pause  
[example] Internal note  
example Elevated tone

[2] This information was derived from a lecture given by Prof. Yip on 10-3-13.

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# The Mongol Invasions of Japan

by leakbrewgator

Working on a project about the Mongol Invasions of Japan I noticed several misconceptions about this historical event. These misconceptions have often times been displayed here at Historum as well.

While historical misconceptions can be expected to be seen on History-based forums, its amazing to me how often I see some of them show up in academic works.

The topic itself seems to have gained some interest here at Historum recently, so I thought now would be as good a time as any to point out a few.

Following are a few of my thoughts regarding some of the more widely held misconceptions regarding the Mongol Invasions of Japan.

## **Misconception #1 - The Mongols never landed on Japan aka The Mongols are the baddest warriors ever and Japan is soooo lucky....**

To be honest, I have no idea why this is such a widely held belief by so many people. Often times, you'll see a thread here on Historum regarding the Mongols and inevitably the discussion will touch upon the Invasions of Japan. There is usually a post that starts with "If the Mongols had landed on Japan...." or "The Japanese were lucky the Mongols were unable to land on Japan because..."

This is baffling because I have never once seen any sort of academic work that proclaims the Mongols were unsuccessful in landing on Japan. Besides that fact, both Continental and Japanese contemporary sources make mention of several land battles fought between the Mongol Invaders and the Japanese defenders. There's even a replica village of a Mongol camp that was erected during the invasion!

Perhaps no misconception of the Mongol Invasions leaves me more perturbed than this one. Many a time I've found myself typing feverishly while yelling out loud, "BUT THEY DID LAAAAAANNNNDDDD!!!!!"



### **Misconception #2 - Both invasion attempts were thwarted by typhoons. aka The Divine Wind Theorem**

This one is a little more muddled. Sources vary on this particular topic. While there seems to be no doubt that the 1281 invasion ended with the Mongol fleet being overtaken by a typhoon, the 1274 invasion's ending is a little murkier.

Some modern sources state that much like the 1281 invasion, the 1274 invasion was thwarted by a typhoon. Other sources state that the 1274 invasion was already repelled and the Mongol fleet were struck in Hakata Bay by a typhoon while discussing a possible return to Korea. Even further sources state that the 1274 invasion was already thwarted and the fleet was already in open water on its way back to Korea when it was struck by a typhoon.

To make it even more unclear, some sources even state there was no such typhoon at all. The main argument here (and quite a convincing one at that) is that a contemporary source, the Hachiman sudo kun, makes no mention of the alleged 1274 typhoon. What makes this interesting is that this document goes out of its way to attribute any and everything to the deities protecting Japan. However, there is no mention of a supposed "divine wind" that was sent from the gods to repel the Mongol invaders.

### **Misconception #3 - The Mongol Invasion force was the largest ever assembled. aka OMG there are too many of them!**

When you see any type of discussion regarding the Mongol Invasions, you'll probably see some astronomical numbers tossed about in regards to the Mongol invasion force. This is another misconception that is really hard to fault anyone for, because most modern sources tend to throw these figures around as well.

However, contemporary Mongol chronicles state that the 1274 invasion contained around 23,000 soldiers (15,000 Mongols and 8,000 Koreans.) Given that the Yuanshi was prone to exaggeration, this figure seems highly unlikely. Thomas Conlan, among others, argues that both forces had no more than 2,000-3,000 men.

The 2nd invasion, by all accounts, was significantly larger than the first. That being said, a number around 100,000 seems highly doubtful.



**Misconception #4- The Japanese were being badly beaten by the Mongols and only the typhoons saved them. aka the Mongols are the baddest warriors ever and Japan is soooo lucky Part 2**

This is the biggie. I have been in countless debates regarding this particular topic. I've already argued the fact that there is serious doubt there was even a storm during the 1274 invasion. So I'll leave that one alone.

The second invasion in 1281 had even less success than the first considering the amount of forces the Mongols brought to the battle.

The Japanese had 7 years to build up their shoreline defenses. This was also 7 years that the Bakufu had to organize the gokenin and non-gokenin defense forces. In addition, the Mongols had to once again make the nearly 100+ mile journey to Japan to try to establish a foothold to lead their assault.

In terms of the actual fighting, the Japanese proved to be staunch defenders. There was more organization in tactics and fighting than they are often times given credit for. Their fighting spirit was far superior than that of their invaders. Something that is surely attributable to the fact that a large portion of the invaders consisted of recently conquered and assimilated Sung soldiers.

The Mongols were routinely denied territory in their attempts to move inland, and when they returned to their camps or boats, they often times fell victim to relentless harrying parties.

After 6 weeks of fighting, the Mongols were only able to capture a few outlying islands.

As Thomas Conlan states, "the sudden onset of a typhoon merely provided the coup de grace for a defeat that had been long in the making.

The "Divine Wind" theory has been widely disseminated through the ages. This can surely be traced back to contemporary sources. Both continental and Japanese sources espouse the tremendous effect of this storm and its profound impact on the Mongol Invasion of 1281. The fact is, both sides benefited from the story of the ultimate storm wiping out the Mongol fleet. From the Mongol perspective, it obviously provided an excuse as to why their far numerically superior force managed to be defeated by the much smaller numbers of the Japanese defenders. For the Japanese, the storm proved that Japan was the land of the gods and that their prayers had been answered by their deities. Going even further, the Bakufu could use the storm in refusing to pay any reward to the defenders for their service. There argument being that the storm had won the war for Japan, not the defenders.

Further Reading:

In Little Need of Divine Intervention: Takezaki Suenaga's Scrolls of the Mongol Invasions of Japan by Thomas Conlan

Samurai, Warfare and the State In Early Medieval Japan by Karl Friday

Heavenly Warriors: The Evolution of Japan's Military, 500-1300 by William Wayne Farris

Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey by Mikiso Hane

Warrior Rule In Japan ed by Marius Jansen

A History of Japan to 1334 by George Sansom

The Mongol Invasions of Japan by Stephen Turnbull

Geography & Japan's Strategic



## Bohemond of Taranto

as he was known in 1095, was a Norman prince hailing from Taranto, at the point where the heel of Italy meets the boot.

Now, the Normans were by no means natives of the area. They were a Germanic race that had early migrated into Scandinavia. In the ninth century, however, some momentous demographic event or phenomenon occurred and they began to invade Western Europe. Norman literally meant North Men. The men from the North. Looting was a favourite profession. Previously they had sailed East toward what are now the Baltic states and Russia. Now they sought richer hunting grounds in England, Germany, even Spain and Italy. Yet their most significant early successes were in France, where they so annoyed and troubled the monarch that he awarded them the province which today still bears their name: Normandy. Less than two centuries later a Norman prince - William the Bastard - would conquer England.



by dwight

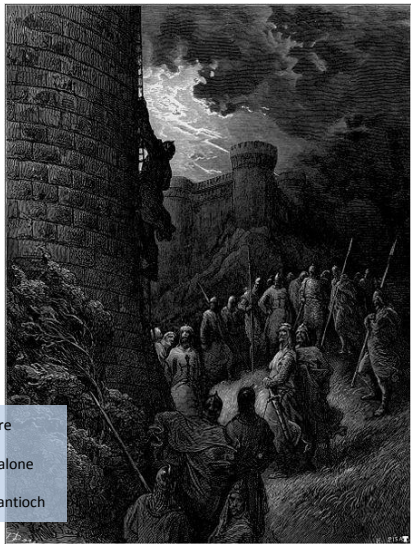
Unlike most other "North Men" the Normans adopted European manners, dress, and customs. They were an eminent people. And Bohemond of Taranto sprang from one of the foremost families. The origins of the Hauteville family cannot be accurately traced back before they reached Normandy, but their family legends stress an association their ancestor Hiallt had with Rollo, the founder of Normandy. This type of creative lineage manufacturing was exceedingly common in the ancient and medieval world. Examples are found in both the Latin and (lesser-known) Irish claims to have descended from fugitive Trojans.

Nonetheless, the Hauteville family spawned great men, notably Bohemond's father, Robert Guiscard - Robert the Wily. So named because of his incredible resourcefulness. As the sixth son of a petty lord, Robert could not expect much to come to him in life. As a youth he left his native Normandy with only a handful of knights and some few dozens foot soldiers as his retainers. These adventurers arrived in Italy and promptly became robbers. Italy being in chaos and lacking strong government at the time, the little band of criminals found great success. Eventually Robert was able to fortify and enlarge his position until he found himself by degrees an independent prince owing allegiance to nobody. Robert became Duke of Apulia and Calabria. Such was the man's audacity, he actually attempted to invade and topple the Byzantine Empire, and such was his energy that the effort fell only somewhat off the mark.

Bohemond was Robert's eldest son, and was 'blooded' in his father's Byzantine wars from 1080 to 1085. By the time of the first Crusade in 1095 he was a very tall and imposing man of 37 years. "He was so tall in stature that he over-topped the tallest [of the other Barbarians] by nearly one cubit," says Anna Comnena, daughter of Alexius Comnenus, the reigning Byzantine Emperor at the time of the first crusade. He was of blonde hair and had a striking countenance. He was named after a mythical giant. All agree on his commanding presence and mercurial temperament. "He was a marvel for the eyes to behold, and his reputation was terrifying," says Anna, who we can fairly suspect of having somewhat fancied Bohemond. She says "in the whole of the body he was neither too slender nor overweighted with flesh, but perfectly proportioned and, one might say, built in conformity with the canon of Polycleitus." Yes, very well, Anna.

The First Crusade had no official leader. Raymond of Toulouse, however, liked to think he was its unofficial leader. He was the only crusading prince not to have sworn allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor Alexius, who required all who so swore to return any territory they captured which had formerly belonged to Byzantium. Given his history as an active combatant against Alexius's state, it is perhaps surprising that Bohemond swore such an oath; however, in all likelihood he never intended on keeping it. Bohemond was a realist. He was an enemy of the Byzantines, prepared to play nice with hollow words if it got him what he wanted, which was territory. After the Crusade captured Edessa, which was given to Baldwin (future Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem), Bohemond became increasingly impatient as it became obvious he was far more concerned with carving out his own fiefdom rather than attaining the Crusade's declared aim: the conquest of the city of Jerusalem (technically it was to make the passage to the Holy Land safe, but this in reality required annexation of territory).

Gustave Dore engraving - Bohemond alone mounts the rampart of antioch



The crusaders next stopped at Antioch, whose defenders valiantly opposed the invaders for many months. It took from around October 1097 until May 1098 for Antioch to finally fall. But the way in which it fell inclines one to believe that despite his hot-headedness, Bohemond indeed had inherited no small measure of his father's cunning and guile. Bohemond had been secretly conducting negotiations with a prominent citizen of the besieged city, who agreed to surrender the city to Bohemond alone.

The situation was a close-run affair, however. The crusading army by that time had already suffered fairly serious attrition, and a huge army led by the Atabeg of Mosul, Kerbogha, was on its way to the relief of Antioch. If they had not captured the city within a few more days, their entire army would have been caught between the garrison in the city and Kerbogha's encircling army. As it was, the conquerors had to immediately repair and prepare to defend the city they had just captured. This they managed to achieve, through various devices, including the supposed discovery of the Spear of Longinus (the legendary spear that pierced Jesus on Calvary).

Bohemond briefly accompanied the crusade after capturing Antioch, but on second thought decided to turn back and consolidate his hold on the territory. Thus his true intentions were revealed. It should be noted however that, despite its smaller size and despite its often difficult relations with Byzantium and Armenia, the Antiochian entity proved more enduring than the Kingdom of Jerusalem which was at times its suzerain.

In Europe, Bohemond was lionised as the most prestigious of the first crusaders. However, his prestige in the East took a hit when he was ambushed and captured at the Battle of Melitene by Turks after foolishly neglecting to send out scouting parties. As Antioch had previously belonged to Byzantium, and Bohemond had refused to return it, the negotiations for his ransom quickly became a complicated affair and a game of grand chess involving factors far more important than the life of a single prince, however gallant. Eventually Bohemond found freedom, after three years in captivity, during which the Principality of Antioch had been ruled by his nephew, the equally or perhaps even more courageous and mercurial Tancred of Galilee. Full of confidence, possessed of his new-found freedom, Bohemond attempted to enlarge his Antiochian domain with an attack on Harran.

He was severely defeated at Harran, but the indomitable crusader was not perturbed. He returned to Europe to preach the need for funds and soldiers. He brought relics and grand tales from the East, impressing potentates where ever he went. Bohemond now attempted what was probably his plan all along: the final execution of his father Robert's attempt to topple Byzantium in the 1080s. Apparently he had amassed an army of some 35,000 men, according to W Treadgold. If true, this army could possibly have matched the entire coalition force of the first crusade (depending on which estimate you follow), which captured Edessa, Antioch, Jerusalem, and so many other towns in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria.

It is a signal mark against the scholarship of Edward Gibbon that this impressive Norman-led coalition was actually quite easily repulsed and in fact decimated by the Byzantine war-machine under Alexius. Gibbon paints the Byzantines as corrupted husks and clearly considered them nothing more than shadows of the long-lost, true Roman spirit. Yet if this were the case the state would likely not have withstood the sustained aggression of an effective aggressor like Robert or Bohemond. In fact, despite the disaster of Manzikert in 1076, Byzantium was still undoubtedly the most prestigious and rich, and was probably still one of the most militarily-powerful states on Earth in the late 11th and early 12 Centuries. The abject failure of the Crusade's most accomplished warrior puts the point beyond doubt. Although Alexius had actually been the one to plea for help from the West, the truth is that Byzantium was still vigorous. Its true, terminal decline must be dated from decades later, with the emperor Manuel's defeat at Myrioccephalum.

Meranwhile, Bohemond, broken and humiliated, was made a 'Sebastos' of the Empire. This was an honorific and basically empty title: it would honor a vain man (like Stephen of Blois) just as much as it would anger a man of action (like Bohemond). There was little Bohemond could do, however. He was given a pension and apparently prohibited from returning to the East. He died soon after, in 1111, aged around 53, a broken man and a tragic figure. His reputation in the west seems to have survived his defeats, however; in Western Christendom he was accounted by far the most famous, gallant, and important of the 1st Crusaders, and this despite his never having attained the throne of Jerusalem.

Whatever else can be said about him, there is little doubt that, with the possible exception of his nephew Tancred, and of course Saladin and the Coeur de Lion, virtually no other figure during the two solid centuries of the crusading movement cut a figure quite like Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch.



In Europe,  
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of the first  
crusaders.



In *River Wide, Ocean Deep*, the story of *Operation Sea Lion*, the reader will find not only a trustworthy and well written account of one of the more interesting 'What If's' of history but an adroit balancing of fact with conjecture. I must declare that in general I am not a fan of speculative history. What could have, might have been has always faded into the background for me. In this book there are plenty of facts and reality that allow me to give serious consideration to his interpretations. Most comforting is that Mr. Leander does not force conclusions but presents them with a clarity that demands I give it serious consideration.

It sustained my interest; I was left with a vivid impression of the role that this operation-that-never-happened played in the shaping of events of World War Two.

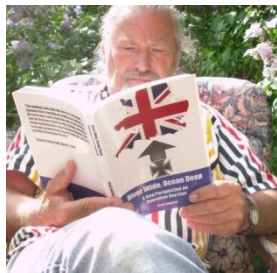
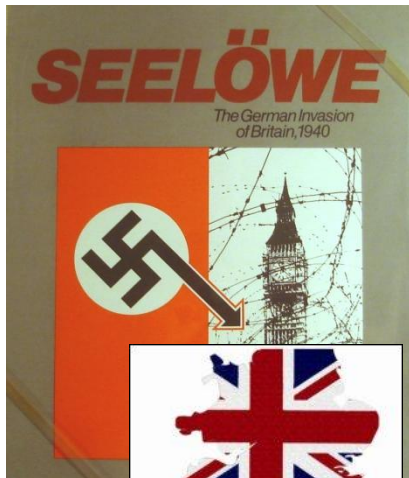
**What was Operation Sealion?** [if you know you can skip this part]

The German name for it was Unternehmen Seelöwe. And was the 1940 plan for Germany's cross Channel invasion of the British Isle. The plans were first laid out by the German Naval Staff in November 1939. And given to the Führer on 31 May 1940.

The plan was first rejected by Hitler and Oberkommand des Heeres (OKW). By July 2, that had second thoughts causing Hitler to issue a Supreme Command Directive (SCD) directing the three services to begin preparing for an invasion of England. Another SCD followed on July 16 directing that preparations for landings between Ramsgate and the area west of the Isle of Wight be finalized by August 10, 1940.

Between July and August the German Supreme Command made many revisions to the plan. On August 27 the Führer agreed to an invasion between Beach Head and Deal with a diversionary tactic to lure the Royal Navy into the North Sea.

There was agreement between Hitler and his staff that air supremacy was necessary for success. In July the Luftwaffe launched Operation Eagle. The result was the Battle of Britain which convinced the German command that they did not have adequate air supremacy for Sealion to be feasible. There resulted postponements and finally on January 9, 1941 Hitler ordered the discontinuance of preparations for "Sealion".





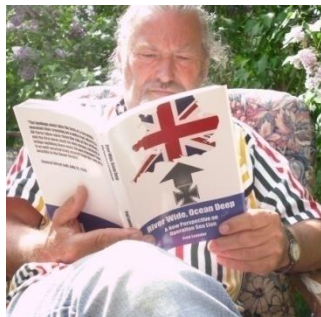
Throughout July and August the German Supreme Command continued to revise the plan and on 27 August the Führer agreed to an invasion on a narrower front between Beach Head and Deal together with diversionary tactics by the Kriegsmarine to draw Royal Navy shipping into the North Sea and North Atlantic. Both Hitler and the Supreme Command agreed, however, that air supremacy was the principal condition for a successful crossing and in July the Luftwaffe launched Operation Eagle (Unternehmen Adler). The ensuing Battle of Britain saw the Luftwaffe fail to achieve adequate air supremacy for Sealion to be launched. D-Day was postponed, at the request of the Naval Staff, from 15 September to 21 September due to delays in preparations, and on 17 September Hitler postponed Sealion indefinitely on the grounds that essential conditions did not exist. On 9 January 1941 Hitler issued the order to discontinue preparations for 'Sealion'. Opinion is divided among Historians as to whether Operation Sealion would have been successful or a failure.

It is obvious Mr. Mr. Leander has consulted many original German sources and come up with many overlooked facts which have lead others to faulty conclusions. Could the Germans have pulled it off? A question/answer that our British friends may find hard to accept. Yet Churchill had hinted at this. Mr. Leander address this. Mr. Leander's book raises many good questions. i.e. "Could the German military leaders at that time really have been as amateurish as they were described?

Mr. Leander promises to "...treat the subject from a somewhat revisionist perspective (an ugly word these days!) and with reference to present discussions on the web as I have experienced them. My arguments shall be based on published literature and research. It is not my intention to prove that Sea Lion had to succeed, but rather to examine many items which I have found to be unfairly subdued or not considered at all."

He delivers on his promise with this well researched book, which is a welcome addition to any military library.

Plus many great photos and seven appendixes.



Fred Leander looking over  
the latest edition of  
**River Wide, Ocean Deep**  
Check out his site for more details.  
On chapter content and  
Where to purchase.  
<http://www.fredleander.com>







## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: Intro

by *spellbanisher*

Frederick Jackson Turner's presentation of his frontier thesis before the American Historical Association in 1893 was one of the most monumental moments in American historiography. Hitherto, the Teutonic Germ theory was the dominant interpretation of American history, positing that American culture and institutions originated out of the forests of Medieval Germany, where they spread to England and were eventually brought over to the Americas by the early settlers.<sup>[1]</sup> The Frontier Thesis was groundbreaking; it asserted that American culture and institutions were unique and formed in response to the challenges settlers faced in their westward advance across a vast and vacant continent. Combining geography, statistics, and evolutionary principles, the Frontier Thesis also had implications for multidisciplinary methodology in history.

According to Ray Allen Billington, there were three generations of "Frontier Thesis" scholarship. The first generation, lasting from the 1890s to the early 1930s, eagerly embraced the Frontier Thesis and generated a plethora of scholarship on the American West. So much scholarship was generated that Louis M. Hacker noted in an 1939 review that "it will take another long generation of American historical scholars to destroy its influence."<sup>[2]</sup> Hacker's critical position towards the Frontier Thesis is typical of the second generation of Frontier scholars, or more appropriately, the Frontier thesis critics, who considered the Thesis vague and contradictory in its definitions, unsound in its methodology, and romantic in its conclusions. This welter of criticism bubbled over in the 1930s during the time of the Great Depression when Americans were revolting against the old *Laissez Faire* order of things. Critics like Hacker blamed Turner and his acolytes for promoting notions of American exceptionalism, which deflected attention away from the universal formation of monopolistic capitalism and oligarchic institutions. The third generation, arising in the 1950s, took neither an overly accepting nor overly critical view of the Thesis. They were intent to test the individual propositions of the Thesis, rather than reject or accept it wholesale.

One could also argue that there are two other "generations" of Frontier historians. In the 1950s and 1960s the Myth and Symbol school saw the frontier as powerful influence on American history not because of its historical reality but because it was a principle source of political and cultural mythology. Starting in the 1970s the New Western history emerged that was concerned with the role that women, Native Americans, and immigrants played in the formation of American culture, groups that were ignored by the aforementioned generations. They were also concerned with the role that economic interests, markets, ideology, and power played in the settling of the West, and they showed a greater interest in the environmental implications the moving frontier.

Regardless of the empirical validity of the Thesis, its themes cannot be ignored, as they are central to the understanding of American history. Materialistic explanations of American culture are not just central to studies of the American West; in *Genesis of Industrial America*, business historian Maury Klein argues that the vast resources and high land-to-population ratio created a nation of people that were industrious, intrepid, oriented towards private interest over public interest, and wasteful with the environment, all themes straight out of the Frontier Thesis.<sup>[3]</sup> The United States is still often divided into the West, the Mid-West, the South, and the Northeast, again, a kind of sectional identity that is a theme of the Frontier Thesis. Finally, part of the mythology of America is that its people are more rugged, more independent, and cherish freedom more than Europeans. These purported unique American traits again are largely a legacy of the Frontier Thesis.<sup>[4]</sup>

<sup>[1]</sup> Gene M. Grassley, "The Turner Thesis: A Problem in Historiography," *Agricultural History*, 32, no. 4 (1958): 228.

<sup>[2]</sup> Louis M Hacker, "Sections--Or Classes?," *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History*, ed. George Rogers Taylor (Lexington: DC Heath & Co, 1972), 51.

<sup>[3]</sup> Maury Klein, *The Genesis of Industrial America, 1870-1920*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chap. Prologue.

<sup>[4]</sup> Billington, Chapter 1.



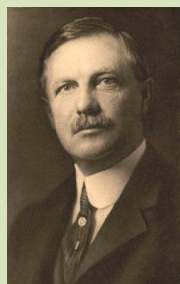
## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: **Turner and Roosevelt** part 1

The first and most important work on the Frontier Thesis is Frederick Jackson Turner's essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." His thesis is simply stated: "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."<sup>[1]</sup> Turner proposes that in responding to the unique conditions of the Western frontier, American settlers had to slough off European institutions and culture and form their own cultural, economic, and social institutions more suitable to the conditions. Furthermore, the diverse geography of the United States resulted in the formation of different sections, which in turn evolved their own unique institutions and collective identities.

Turner does not marshal a wealth of evidence to prove his thesis. He states that the aim of his paper is "simply to call attention to the frontier as a fertile field for investigation, and to suggest some of the problems which arise in connection with it."<sup>[2]</sup> He does provide some evidence for his claims, such as US Census and maps to show how the frontier moved over time. The strength of his argument is in the logic and novelty of his ideas; it is only natural that in the wilderness the "garments of civilization" would have to be stripped off, that "he must accept the conditions which [the wilderness] furnishes, or perish..."<sup>[3]</sup>

The criticisms of the Frontier Thesis are trenchant and varied. As Frontier Thesis proponent Ray Allen Billington notes, Turner never defines the "Frontier." Turner calls it many things, including a "state of society rather than a place," a "process, a "migrating region," a "state of mind, a "meeting place between savagery and civilization," and "the temporary boundary of an expanding society at the edge of substantially free lands."<sup>[4]</sup> Billington notes that the hypothesis that free-land was a safety valve for urban dwellers has been disproved by later research demonstrating that most of the free land of the West was bought up by land speculators, and that most of the migration in the nineteenth century was to the cities, not to the frontier. Many other criticism were leveled at the Thesis, including that it rested on hasty generalizations, that it ignored the role of immigrants and Indians, and that it promoted provincialism. However, as a hypothesis many of these criticisms are unfair; Turner was simply proposing a new way of looking at American history.

Contemporary to Frederick Jackson Turner, Theodore Roosevelt offered a slightly different perspective on the role of the frontier in the formation of a unique American culture based on wars and violence against the Indians, a thesis that is explained in "Nostalgia and Progress: Theodore Roosevelt's Myth of the Frontier," by Richard Slotkin. Both Turner and Roosevelt believed that the frontier was the most significant force in shaping national institutions and national character. This belief, according to Slotkin, had a centuries old tradition, deriving from the Puritanical concept of the "Errand into the Wilderness" and expressed in Manifest Destiny and continental empire.<sup>[5]</sup> But in a key way Roosevelt's "Frontier Thesis" was an antithesis to Turner's. Unlike Turner, who viewed the impact of the frontier as a natural and evolutionary process, Roosevelt viewed the significance of the frontier in the formation of exemplary heroes and of deriving from history moral imperatives.



F.J. Turner

...Turner  
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"Frontier."

## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: **Turner and Roosevelt** part 2

Central to Roosevelt's Frontier thesis, which is explicated in *The Winning of the West* and *Rough Riders*, is the notion of "stages of civilization and the rise and fall of races, classes, and nations."<sup>[6]</sup> Each stage of civilization brings a distinctive bio-social "character" or "type." In the frontier the White Man regressed to a pre-civilized natural state, purifying him of the corruptions of civilizations, such as the socialistic tendencies of the proletariat and the destructive individualism of the robber barons. The frontier steeled the early settlers; they had to learn to fight like the Indians. In their wars against the Indians, they were constantly reminded of their own racial-identity. As backwoodsman they learned self-help, but they could only survive against the Indians by working together. Thus, they developed neither the extreme individualism of Robber Barons nor the socialistic tendencies of the proletariat. These frontier heroes were the ones uniquely suited towards transforming the destructive individualistic competitive capitalism into a more regulated consolidated industrial capitalism, or a move from the Gilded Age to the Progressive Age.

Roosevelt's thesis, as Slotkin explains, is more narrative than analysis. He is also someone purely bound by the ethos of his time; the racism towards the Indians, the disdain of the working and capital class, the obliviousness towards the contributions of immigrants, and the romanticization of western heroes all reflect the time he was writing in. As such, Roosevelt's works on the Frontier make better primary documents reflecting the attitudes of the times as well as of a very important figure in history than they do as a work of academic history.

<sup>[1]</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921), 1.

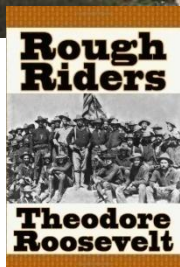
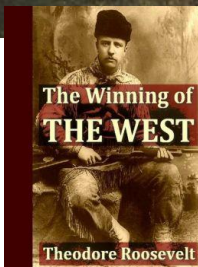
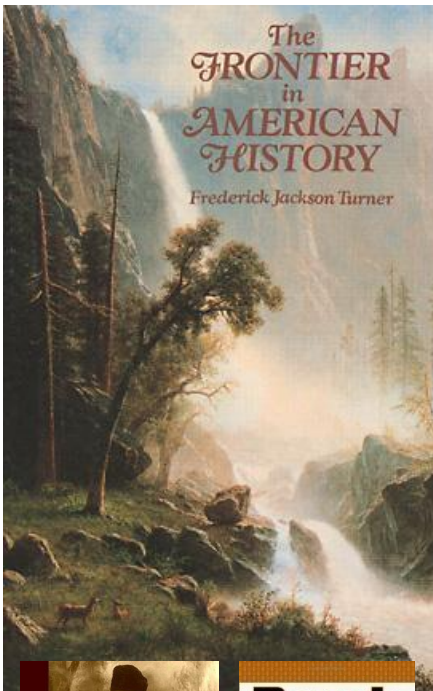
<sup>[2]</sup> Turner, 2.

<sup>[3]</sup> Turner, 2.

<sup>[4]</sup> Billington, Chapter 1.

<sup>[5]</sup> Richard Slotkin. "Nostalgia and Progress: Theodore Roosevelt's Myth of the Frontier" *American Quarterly* 33.5 1981. 609.

<sup>[6]</sup> Slotkin, 615.





## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: **The Critics** part 1

In *The Great Frontier*, Walter Prescott Webb argues that what we call “modern” was the result of a 400 year boom made possible by “the Great Frontier.” This great frontier was the New World, and its impact on European institutions and culture was arguably greater than its impact on the United States. What the New World did was dramatically increase the resource to man ratio in “the metropolis” which is Europe. Webb notes that the land to person ratio increased from 24 acres to 1 person before the discovery of the New World to 148 acres to one person. The Frontier was a vast body of wealth without proprietors (the Indians notwithstanding). Money flooded into the continent, from 200 million dollars worth of gold in 1492 to 1.6 billion in 1600 to 4 billion in 1700 to 7.4 billion in 1800. Timber, pitch, tar, cotton, fur, coffee, cocoa, sugar, maize, beef, pampas, and tobacco all flowed into Europe from the New World. These vast resources suddenly made an economic system based on continual growth and exploitation of resources, capitalism, possible. The lands of America offered hope to people in Europe, who could flee from the serfdom, feudalism, and primogeniture of the Old World. Once in the New World these settlers were “trapped” or “caught” in freedom; there were no institutions to rely on—they had to govern themselves or perish. Today, Webb contends, the economic system is based on “substitute frontiers” where people try to sell the idea that “if you work hard enough and have faith enough, and put in a little money, you will surely find it.”[\[1\]](#)

Webb's thesis is both dated and flawed. According to Malanima, the discovery of the New World did not result in a rise in per capita living standards as Webb implies; Malanima and other economic historians categorize the last millennium of economic as surging from 1000-1300, stable from 1300-1800, and growing exponentially from 1800-present.[\[2\]](#) His characterization of the pre-Columbine world as a

period where the individual was always unfree and walled by man-made regulations is no longer as supported as it was during his time, as more recent research has found periods where there was robust per capita and absolute growth with high levels of economic and social mobility, such as Classical Athens, Augustine Rome, the Abbasid Caliphate, and the Song Dynasty.[\[3\]](#) The narrative is also flawed. Capitalism emerged in the Mediterranean in the 1000-1300 period, long before the discovery of the New World. Democracy also has its roots prior to the discovery of the New World, with the Magna Carta limiting monarchical power in the thirteenth century.

Despite the flaws in Webb's argument, the principle is sound. Industrialization could not have taken off without the resources from the New World; for instance, by 1850, Great Britain was importing 23 million acres of cotton for its dark satanic mills, whereas England alone only has a total of 17 million arable acres.[\[4\]](#) Thus, Webb's argument, that our modern notions of economic growth are based on vast untapped resources, a reality that is no longer so, is perhaps more relevant than the Turner thesis.

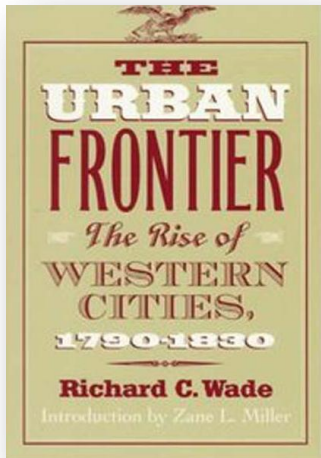
In “Political Institutions and the Frontier,” Benjamin Wright Jr. argues that it was political institutions from the east, not frontier conditions, that shaped American culture and identity. Wright notes that all of the Middle Western states adopted the same forms of government; a single executive, a bicameral legislature, and a hierarchical court system. The American trait of distrusting centralized power is evident from the founding of the nation in the Constitution, which set up a system of checks and balances and a Bill of Rights. Suffrage movements and the expansion of suffrage to the property-less expanded first in Eastern states before Western states. Overall, the western states could be said to be imitative, rather than creative, in their institutions.

## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: The Critics part 2

In a way, Wright's argument is a return to the Teutonic Germ Theory. Unlike other critiques, such as Hacker's "Sections, or Classes?" Wright does not virulently attack the Frontier Thesis by blaming it for causing American exceptionalism. Wright rightly points out that most of the strong American democratic institutions emerged first in Eastern States. There is a slight flaw in his critique in that Turner argued that the Eastern States were once the frontier, the first frontier for Europe. However, Turner did not prove that democratic institutions were stronger in the Western States than the Eastern States, and Wright shows that the impulse for change was stronger in the East than in the West.

*The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830*, by Richard C. Wade, provides perhaps the most compelling critique of the Frontier thesis as it argues that urban areas developed the frontier. As a review of the *The Urban Frontier* noted, Turner's Frontier Thesis had convinced a generation of readers of the signal importance of the an American Frontier that evolved inevitably from wilderness to farmland to small towns and finally great cities. Wade's thesis was the opposite: Towns were the spearheads of the frontier. The imperial rivalry of the French, Spanish, and British on claims of lands west of the Mississippi led to the chartering of town to exploit natural resources in these regions. These towns were "seeds" that eventually became cities, such as Pittsburgh, Louisville, Lexington, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. Settlers in these towns, rather than developing unique cultural traits, tried to import the East by bringing in books, building museums and theaters, and sending their children to western schools. It was the growth of these urban areas that then drew settlers into the Western frontier.

Wade's thesis is significant, but his argument is flawed; like Turner, Wade takes his definitions for granted. Wade assumes that what constitutes cities today must have constituted urban areas in the early American period. In the early nineteenth century, cities, if they could even properly be called that, were not very large. In 1810 Cincinnati had a population of less than 2,500, which would not even qualify it as an urban area. Even by 1830 Cincinnati has a population less than 3% of Ohio's population. And in the neighboring state of Indiana, which had a population of 343,000 people, there were no towns of more than 2,500 people.<sup>[5]</sup> Finally, Wade fails to discuss the role of urban manufacturing to rural manufacturing, an important point, because economic activity in the early nineteenth century was remarkably diffuse. It would not be until the publication of *Nature's Metropolis* that a precise relationship between the city and the hinterland would be defined.



Richard C. Wade  
Urban Historian

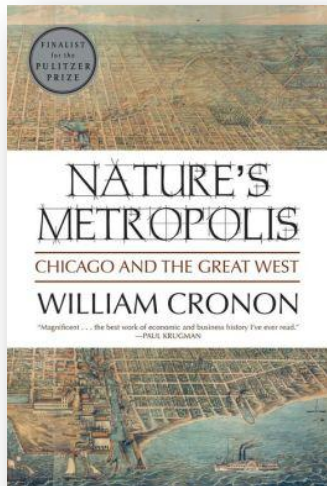




## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: The Critics part 3

*Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, by William Cronon, contends that the city and the country were not separate places, but represented a unified market in which the country provided the crops and materials for city manufacturing. Like Wade, Cronon criticizes Turner for his failure to explicate the mechanism by which the stages from wilderness to city succeed. In the case of Chicago, its development was not a natural progress but a political choice. There had been no pastoral stage for Chicago. Rather, boosters, investors, land speculators, capitalists, and developers were dreaming of an urban future during the land craze of the 1830s. The boosters felt confident that they could produce great cities. The role that the wilderness played was in captivating the imagination of investors; to merchants and investors boosters advertised that the climate, soils, vegetation, transportation routes, and other features of natural landscape pointed toward key locations that nature had designated for urban greatness. Unlike the Frontier thesis, the development of cities, especially in the case of Chicago, was not a slow and evolutionary progress, but a sudden and dramatic emergence. These cities in turn made the landscape of the frontier accessible, by providing markets for commodities. Or, as Cronon says it, the cities were marketplaces before they were Metropolises. Like Wade, Cronon shows that settlers went west to develop land so that they could move it into the marketplace and attach it to the metropolis.

Cronon provides the most complete economic narrative of the Frontier. The fact that so much western land was bought up by land speculators makes more sense if one looks at the Frontier from the perspective of the marketplace and capital, of integrating the natural resources of the continent into the metropolis. The drive west, then, was fundamentally economic. The economic motives and actions had cultural consequences which fed back into the economic motives and actions. For instance, Cronon argues that free land was important not because it was empty, but because its abundance offered to human labor rewards incommensurate with the effort expended in achieving them. The result was the development of highly destructive and unsustainable practices of environmental exploitation.



- [1] Walter Prescott Webb, "The Frontier and the 400 Year Boom," *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History*, ed. George Rogers Taylor (San Francisco: DC Heath & Co, 1951), 143.
- [2] Paolo, Oliver, and Volkart Malanima. Center for Economic Policy Research, "Urbanization: 1700-1870." Accessed May 15, 2012. <http://www.cepr.org/meets/wkcn/1/167...rt-Chapter.pdf>. 10.
- [3] Jack Goldstone, "Efflorescences and Economic Growth in World History: Rethinking the Rise of the 'West' and the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of World History*, Fall (2002): 333-335,
- [4] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 275.
- [5] David Stradling, "Cincinnati a Queen City? Only on the Frontier," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 105, no. 3





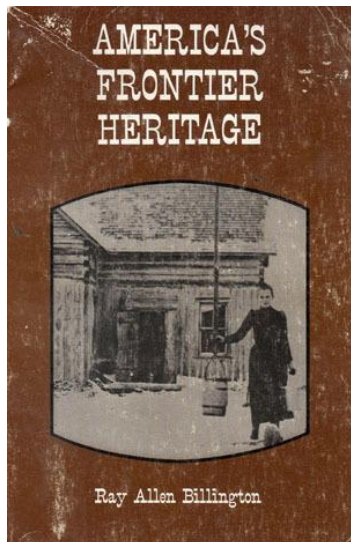
## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: Ray Allen Billington

In *America's Frontier Heritage*, Ray Allen Billington synthesizes the work of third generation Frontier scholars and revises the Frontier thesis to be more compatible with recent empirical research and social science theories. To make his argument, Allen uses both travelers accounts of American culture as well as some of the new social science theories on the role of the environment on the development of human cultures.

According to Social Psychologists, humans are influenced by two kinds of environments, primary or physical environments and secondary or social environments. The latter, constituting culture and patterns of behavior, is more important, as it determines how humans interpret and respond to their primary environments. Social scientists were unanimous in their belief that the physical environment is not socially determinant of human behavior. Based on findings in social science, Billington revises the Frontier Thesis; the primary environment did not determine but provided the basis for cultural deviations.

What were these social deviations? First, the frontier led to unique folk cultures. Second, change, not tradition, was the order of life in frontier communities, promoting a spirit of innovation. The relative egalitarianism and hardship of frontier communities promoted not only a worldview that was not class-based, but encouraged greater vertical mobility. These social deviations were also evident in the writings of foreign travelers; Americans are depicted as harder working, highly peripatetic, rebellious against tradition, shockingly wasteful, crassly materialistic, and so on. No other explanation, other than the American frontier, explains the perceived cultural differences between Americans and Europeans.

Billington's work is useful because it provides a clear overview of the Frontier Thesis, synthesizes the third generation of scholarship, and gives an empirically, methodologically, and theoretically sound defense of the Frontier thesis. Billington also indemnifies himself against significant critique, as he does not argue for monocausal explanations. Instead, he argues that the Frontier did have an impact on American culture, although much of that culture was imported from Europe, nor are Americans entirely unique from Europeans today



Ray  
Allen  
Billington



## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: **Myth and Symbol School**

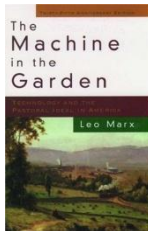
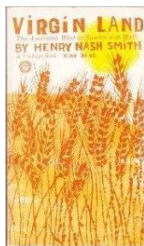
*Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*, by Henry Nash Smith, is different from other works on the frontier in that it does not try to show the historical realities of the frontier and its impact on American culture and institutions. Instead, *Virgin Land* explores the mythology of the American west and where the frontier thesis fits into that mythology. These myths have a unique effect on reality and politics, as writers have made frontier figures into democratic heroes and politicians evoke frontier myths in their campaigns. The symbolic dimension of politics is often as important as hard realities. Smith contends that the pervasiveness of these myths explains both the popularity of the Frontier Thesis as well as its endurance.

The Turner thesis was not original, but a recitation of poetry and politics over the course of three centuries of European wandering in the New World. We see these recitations in the works such as that of Crèvecoeur, who in the late eighteenth century expressed that Americans were those who “felt the pull of a vacant continent.”<sup>[1]</sup> To Smith Turner straddled the fault between myth and fact, sometimes to be read as an historian and sometimes to be read as a poet. Turner could not have expressed his thesis if the myth was not already pervasive; thus, Turner was a creature of his time.

*Virgin Land* was a hugely important work but also has many weaknesses. It was the most influential work of the “myth and symbol” school, which purported that the essence of American culture can be culled by reading great individual works of the American imagination. Other writers that would follow in Nash's footsteps include Richard Slotkin, Leo Marx, and Alan Trachtenberg. It's weakness, common in some of the other works, is in the definitions and audience. Nash ignores the role of natives, immigrants, and women in his exploration of American culture. Furthermore, he fails to explicate whose interest is served by myths.

In *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, Leo Marx shows that the pastoral ideal of America has been a powerful force in American politics and culture. The United States was discovered during the Renaissance, when Italian poets were producing Virgilian images of the garden. The United States was viewed as a possible “paradise regained,”<sup>[2]</sup> a new Eden, a garden of fresh green landscape. This ideal would be pervasive in American culture and politics; Jefferson was a Pastoralist who believed the United States should be an agrarian nation, not for economic reasons, but because agriculture was a means of preserving virtue. Even the ideology of American industrialism was that the capacity of the New World environment would “purify the system.”<sup>[3]</sup> The Pastoral ideal is also prevalent in American literature, where heroes in the works of Cooper, Thoreau, Melville, Frost, and Hemingway withdraw from society into a more pristine or less corrupt wilderness. Juxtaposed to the idea of America as a garden was the idea of America as a howling wilderness held by the Puritans, making the landscape another field for the exercise of power, as energy needed to be mobilized, pleasure postponed, and people well-disciplined and controlled.

*Machine in the Garden* provides an alternative to the Turner view of the impact of the frontier on American history, but as with the Frontier Thesis it has its many flaws. The impact on the frontier is not just in the physical adaptation to the environment; it is also in the environments impact on the imagination, which in turn shapes the political system and cultural symbols. But Marx suffers from the disease of allegory. In reading literature for symbols and myths, one is always looking to see if one thing stands for another. The pratfall then is that if you are looking for certain myths, you are sure to find them, especially considering the ambiguity of most literature. Additionally, surveying works of literature fails to take into the real impacts of literature, as there is no way to measure its value.



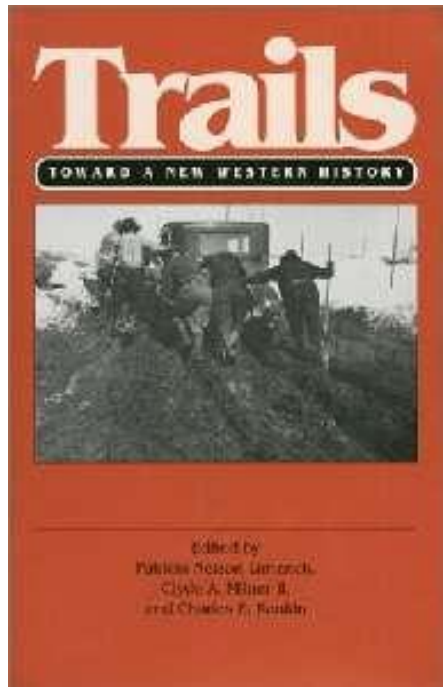
- <sup>[1]</sup> Henry Nash, *Virgin Land*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 3.
- <sup>[2]</sup> Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 36, 81.
- <sup>[3]</sup> Marx, 158.



## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: Revisionism and Beyond

*Trails: Toward a New Western History* is a collection of essays from revisionist scholars intending to create new frameworks for interpreting the history of the American West. Whereas the Turner thesis argues that the West was a unique place in a sense isolated from the broader world, the writers in *Trails* argue that the West “has been a place where white Americans ran smack into the broader world.”<sup>[1]</sup> The West was the place where the world’s first and truly cosmopolitan society was formed. This development occurred within the context of brutal exploitation of the underclass and the extermination of the Indians. The New Western History emphasizes the ruthless assault on nature in the quest to expand markets. Rather than the West being an agrarian garden, it was place that furnished the raw materials for Industrialism’s development. The Western farmers in places such as the Central Valley of California were the first agribusinessmen on the planet. The New Western Historians contend that the West has always been ruled by concentrated power, in contrast to the old frontier school which argues that the west was a democratic place. As Donald Worster notes, “perhaps the single, most distinguishing characteristic of the New Western History is its determination not to offer cover for the powers that be...”<sup>[2]</sup> Finally, the New Western Historians seek to tell the history of the west from different perspectives, from that of Indians, of women, of immigrants, and so on.

The New Western History offers perspectives that are more relevant and more empirically sound than those offered by the old Frontier historians. Unlike the myth and symbol school, the New Western Historians give perspectives from all sides, and not just the perspectives of privileged white males. It also takes into account the greater context of the frontier, of Industrialization and imperialism, of the relentless expansion of markets and the ruthless exploitation of nature. Most of the empirical research done on the American West, from research on land ownership to the formation of farms, also tends to vindicate the New Western Historian’s perspective that the West was neither democratic nor a safety valve for the cities.



<sup>[1]</sup> Donald Worster, “Beyond the Agrarian Myth,” *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, ed. Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 18.

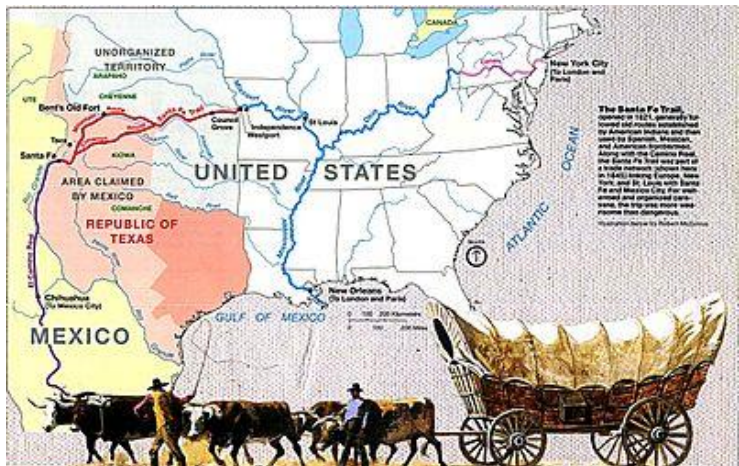
<sup>[2]</sup> Worster, 22.



## The **Frontier Thesis** and American History: **Revisionism and Beyond**

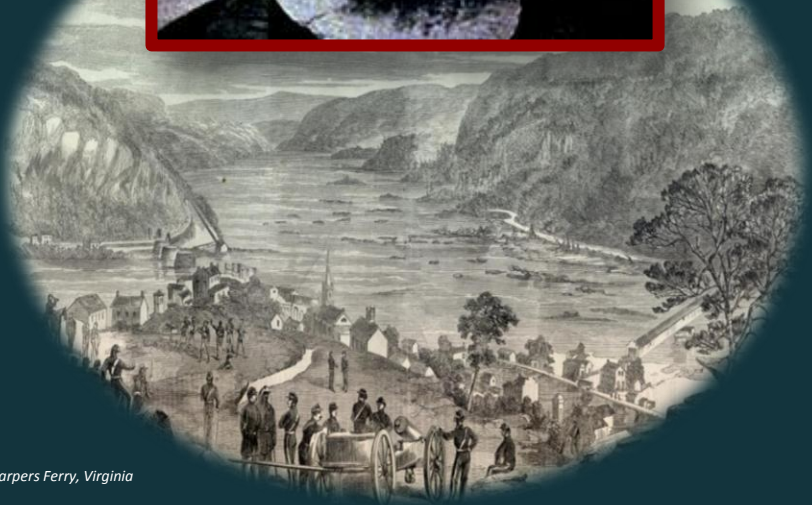
It is not necessarily the case that the various perspectives on the Frontier Thesis are mutually incompatible. Much of Turner's hypothesis has been invalidated by empirical research. But as the third generation of Frontier Thesis scholars illustrate, modern dreams of wealth accumulation or aspirations for class mobility, as well as industrialization, would have been impossible without the existence of the Frontier. The vast resources of an untapped continent provided opportunities for wealth creation, the raw materials for industrialization, and the incentive for industry and risk-taking. Furthermore, the abundance of natural resources promoted a spirit of wastefulness in environmental exploitation. In contrast, the second generation did show that capitalistic and political institutions were prevalent in the Eastern United States and in Europe as well. Nevertheless, the United States was itself a frontier for Europe, a vast and vacant continent ready to be settled and exploited. As the Third generation pointed out, visitors to the United States noticed immediately the striking differences in the values and practices of Americans from Europeans, giving their institutions a unique flavor. The myth and symbol school shows the Frontier thesis to be a myth, it is also the case that there is often a little bit of truth in myth. The pastoral ideal or the ideal of free land provided the foundation for dreams of getting rich or upward mobility. The fourth generation fills out the picture. They do demonstrate that the west was settled by powerful economic interests and not egalitarian settler communities. They also provided a much needed perspective from groups ignored by previous generations of historians, such as immigrants, women, Indians, and minorities. But immigrants came in mass and eastern workers moved across a vast continent with the hopes of opportunity and bettering themselves, surely motivated by the myths of the frontier. The fact that they were pawns in a bigger economic game does not change that reality

[1] Donald Worster, "Beyond the Agrarian Myth," *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, ed. Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 18. [2] Worster, 22.





**Dangerfield Newby**  
*a Martyr for Freedom*  
b y S a l a h



*Harpers Ferry, Virginia*

John Brown's notorious raid on Harpers Ferry was already one of my favorite incidents in American history, but it came alive for me today more than ever when I visited the historic town for the first time in my life. Walking the same streets where Brown's ragtag army of abolitionists exchanged fire with infuriated locals, and standing in the very armory where the battered survivors were captured after a desperate siege, was just as poignant for me as walking the fields of Gettysburg or the Bloody Lane of Antietam in previous summers.

Dangerfield Newby was forty-four years old and 6'2" in 1859, when he was both the oldest and one of the most physically intimidating participants in Brown's brief insurrection. His father was a free Scottish-American, his mother an enslaved African-American. His wife Harriet and all seven of their children were all slaves. Shortly before the raid, Dangerfield had attempted to purchase his wife's freedom but was thwarted by her "master", who raised the price at the last second.

John Brown, a fundamentalist Christian and a fervent abolitionist, had already earned a controversial reputation for murdering slave owners in Kansas. In 1859 he plotted to capture the Federal armory at Harpers Ferry and subsequently arm all the slaves of the region and spark a revolt. Newby was one of five African-Americans out of the twenty-one men total that Brown led on his notorious raid, starting on the night of October 16th 1859.

The morning of October 17th saw fighting in the streets between abolitionists and townsfolk, before the former barricaded themselves in the armory. Two of Brown's young sons, Mayor Fountaine Beckham, and three other residents of Harpers Ferry were among those killed or mortally wounded.

Dangerfield Newby was another casualty of this bloody morning; his throat was ripped open by a nail fired from an antique blunderbuss. Exactly what became of his corpse afterwards is a mystery. The "official" version of the story (the version I heard recounted several times today) is that his body was mutilated by vengeful townsmen. Local legend, however, states that his body was thrown in an alleyway and partially consumed by hogs.

This morning I found myself standing under a street sign reading "Hog Alley", within a stone's throw of the remnants of the armory. Whether Newby's body was indeed eaten by pigs or not, its obvious that the story is taken seriously by at least some residents of the old West Virginia town.



The raid ended on October 18th; Brown was felled by several saber blows and most of his followers were either captured or bayoneted - five did manage to escape, though at what point I have not been able to find out. Brown survived his wounds only to be hung two months later. From the morning of his execution onwards he has spawned a number of legends; some say that he kissed a slave's child on his way to the gallows, others that his eyes glowed with fiery intensity long after the hanging was finished, and were sealed shut by a bewildered undertaker.

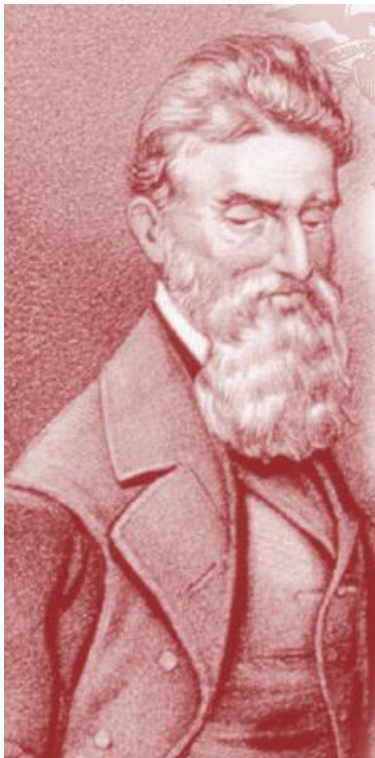




As feared by the vilest of his critics, and as revealed by the intense contemporary popularity of the a song, John Brown became a martyr overnight. Some view him as a hero, others as a terrorist, no one can deny that he was a murderer, but the child-like purity and fiery determination with which he viewed the greatest ethical crime of his nation cannot fail to fill us with a degree of respect for this passionate, if disturbing personality.

As for Dangerfield Newby, his sacrifice is comparatively obscure, but no less poignant. In the aftermath of the raid, several of his slave wife's letters were found in his coat pocket. In her last letter she had urgently implored him to make another attempt to buy her from her master, for fear that she was about to be sold to another. Harriet Newby's fate is a mystery; likewise, no one knows if she ever learned of her husband's grisly death.

Ironically, Newby is immortalized in the name of the alleyway where his remains were allegedly consumed by hogs. A quiet but persistent local tradition claims that a lanky African-American figure, clad in tattered garments with blood dripping from his neck, can still be seen walking down the street late at night. West Virginian folklore would have us believe that Newby's ghost, like John Brown's body, yet marches on.



John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,  
John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,  
But his soul goes marching on.

Chorus: Glory, glory, hallelujah,  
Glory, glory, hallelujah,  
His soul goes marching on.

He's gone to be a soldier in the Army of the Lord,  
He's gone to be a soldier in the Army of the Lord,  
His soul goes marching on.

Chorus

John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back,  
John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back,  
His soul goes marching on.

Chorus

John Brown died that the slaves might be free,  
John Brown died that the slaves might be free,  
His soul goes marching on.

Chorus

The stars above in Heaven now are looking  
kindly down,  
The stars above in Heaven now are looking  
kindly down,  
His soul goes marching on.

Chorus

# The Kakatiyas of Telangana

## Part I: Early Chiefs (956-1116)

by civfanatic

**This entry marks the first part** of a planned four-part series on the history of the Kakatiya dynasty. The Kakatiyas originated from the region of Telangana in what is now northwest Andhra Pradesh state (soon to become a separate state of its own). They were the first dynasty to establish a major kingdom with its core territory in Telangana, marking a major shift from over 1000 years of Deccani political history. Prior to the Kakatiyas, Telangana was not much of a defined region at all, but more of a dry, rocky "frontier zone" that was dominated by dynasties based in neighboring regions. Such regions and the dynasties that ruled from them include the upper Godavari river valley (Satavahanas), northern Karnataka (Chalukyas of Badami, of Kalyana, and Rashtrakutas), and the Krishna-Godavari delta of coastal Andhra (Chalukyas of Vengi). By investing heavily in irrigation technology, founding new villages, and building strong fortifications to resist external attacks, the Kakatiyas were able to gradually transform Telangana from a backwater frontier zone into a major center of power. Indeed, the Kakatiyas were able to not only establish an independent, indigenous kingdom in Telangana, but even extend their influence into neighboring regions, including coastal Andhra, northern Tamil Nadu, and the Krishna-Tungabhadra basin.



**In this series,** I will be focusing mainly on the political history of the Kakatiyas, listing the Kakatiya rulers, their regnal dates, and the events that occurred during their reigns. However, I might also include a section on Kakatiya administration and military organization, as well as on sociopolitical transformations that occurred under them. In this section, I will be discussing the very first Kakatiya chiefs, who ruled in the area around Warangal starting in the 10th century.

.....

The following is a genealogy of the Kakatiya rulers, with known regnal dates (all in Common Era):

1. Venna  
(founder of the Kakatiya dynasty)
2. Gunda I
3. Gunda II
4. Gunda III
5. Erra
6. Gunda IV (c.956-995)
7. Beta I (c.996-1051)
8. Prola I (c.1052-1076)
9. Beta II (c.1076-1108)
10. Durgaraja (c.1108-1116)
11. Prola II (c.1116-1157)
12. Rudradeva (c.1158-1195)
13. Mahadeva (c.1196-1199)
14. Ganapatideva (c.1199-1262)
15. Rudramadevi (1262-1289)
16. Prataparudra (1289-1323)



The first three chiefs are known only due to references by later Kakatiyas. None of the events that took place under their reigns are known, as no contemporary records for these chiefs exist. The earliest known record which mentions the Kakatiyas is the Mangallu grant of an Eastern Chalukya prince named Danarnava, dated to the year 956. It is with this document, that the record of Kakatiya political history begins.

**Gunda III** is mentioned in the Mangallu grant as the great grandfather of Gunda IV, a contemporary of Danarnava. Gunda III seems to have been a general in the Rashtrakuta army, who participated in several invasions of the Vengi country (located in coastal Andhra) by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II (r.878-914). Vengi at the time of these invasions was ruled by the Eastern Chalukya king Bhima I (r.892-921). Chalukyan records mention that Itimartiganda, the eldest son of King Bhima I, killed a Rashtrakuta general named *dandena Gunda* during one of the invasions. It is quite likely that this *dandena Gunda* refers to Gunda III of the Kakatiya family.

**Erra** was the grandson and successor of Gunda III. He is mentioned in the Bayyaram tank inscription as the ruler of a place called "Kurravadi". This corresponds to the region of Koravi in the southeastern part of the modern-day Warangal district, which is still called "Kurravadi" by locals to this day. Thus, even though hardly anything else is known about him, Erra is significant for being the first Kakatiya to be recorded as the ruler of a territory. He was succeeded by this son, Gunda IV.

**Gunda IV** (c.956-995) was the individual at whose request Danarnava, the Eastern Chalukya prince mentioned above, issued the Mangallu land grant in 956. Danarnava was the elder half-brother of Amma II, who became king of Vengi in the 940s. However, Amma's ascension to the Eastern Chalukya throne was contested by Danarnava, who considered himself to be the rightful successor (as he was senior to Amma). To obtain the throne for himself, Danarnava sought the assistance of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. The Rashtrakuta king seems to have readily agreed to this request, and sent an army under Gunda IV to invade Vengi. Danarnava was thus able to seize the kingdom, and Amma II fled north to Kalinga. Danarnava, being grateful to Gunda IV for his assistance in winning the throne, then seems to have issued the Mangallu land grant at his request.

Following the collapse of Rashtrakuta power in 973, Gunda IV became an independent chief. He took the opportunity to expand his fledgling dominions by attacking his neighbors to the southeast, the Mudigonda Chalukyas of the modern-day Khammam district. However, Gunda was eventually killed by one Viriyala Erra, who installed the Mudigonda Chalukya chief Bottu Beta as ruler of Koravi. It is likely that the general Viriyala Erra and the Mudigonda Chalukyas had the support of Tailapa II, the new Western Chalukya monarch who had replaced Rashtrakuta authority in the region. The earliest known record of Tailapa II in the region is the Jammikunta epigraph, dated to 995. By this time, we can assume that the Western Chalukyas had established themselves as the new dominant power in Telangana.

The next Kakatiya was **Beta I** (c.996-1051), the son of Gunda IV. According to the Gudur epigraph, Beta was too young to rule when his father was killed. The Kakatiya family was in dire straits at this time, being deprived of their lands as well as an adult male head. They were saved from extinction by the grace of Kamavasani, the wife of Viriyala Erra. Kamavasani was most likely related to the Kakatiyas in some way, and she might also be identical with the figure of Kuntaladevi mentioned in the *Siddheshvaracharitra*, who is also credited with saving the Kakatiya family. Under Kamavasani's guidance and protection, Beta eventually rose to become the ruler of Anumakonda under Western Chalukya suzerainty. Beta was thus the first of his family to rule in this region, which would become the core territory of the Kakatiyas, and remain under their rule until the final demise of the dynasty.

It should also be mentioned that the Kazipet Darga inscription gives Beta the title of *Chola-chamu-varahi-pramathana*, i.e. "he who churned the ocean of the Chola army." Being just a minor feudatory in possession of a tiny territory, it is unlikely that Beta could have attacked the Cholas (who were at the height of their power during this time) on his own. However, it is known that the Western Chalukyas launched invasions of the Chola territory during this time, and it is perfectly possible that Beta could have participated in one of these invasions.

**Prola I** (c.1052-1076), Beta's successor, obtained Anumakonda as a permanent holding from the Chalukya king Somesvara I. He formally acknowledged Western Chalukya sovereignty, and adopted the *varaha* (boar) emblem of the Chalukyas as his own, being the first Kakatiya to do so. Prola participated in the invasions of Chakrakuta (Bastar) and the Konkan under the Chalukya prince Vikramaditya. He also defeated neighboring petty chiefs in Telangana, including Gonna, the Purukuta chief of Gunasagara, and the forest chief Annaya, son of Kadparti Durga. Prola is thus praised in the Bayyaram inscription for "raising the status and power of the Kakatiyas."

**Beta II** (c.1076-1108) supported Chalukya Vikramaditya VI in his conflict against his brother, Somesvara II. When Vikramaditya won the Chalukya civil war and became king in 1076, he thus conferred on Beta the title of *Vikrama-chakrin*. Beta was also able to obtain Sabbinadu (Sabbi-1000) in the modern-day Karimnagar district from the Chalukya king. Besides this, not much else is known about this Kakatiya ruler.

Beta's son **Durgaraja** (c.1108-1116) began actively participating in the Kakatiya administration even before his father's death. We know this because the only inscription of Durgaraja is dated to 1098, while the last record of Beta II is dated to 1108. However, less than a decade after Beta II's death, another of his sons, Prola II, was in power. The Kotapalli epigraph states that Prola II offered asylum to his brother's son (i.e. the son of Durgaraja), which suggests that the reign of Durgaraja came to a sudden and violent end. It is quite likely that there was a power struggle between the two brothers Prola II and Durgaraja, and that Prola II himself put an end to Durgaraja's reign. However, respecting the fact that Durgaraja was still his brother, he offered protection for his son (Prola's nephew). Prola was firmly in power by 1116 as the head of the Kakatiyas

Here marks the end of the first entry of the history of the Kakatiyas. In the next entry, we will take up the reign of Prola II and his successor Rudradeva, who established the Kakatiyas as the dominant, sovereign power of Telangana.

## The Kakatiyas, Part II:

### Emergence of the Sovereign State (1116-1199)

Part one concluded with the ascension of Prola II in 1116, who succeeded his brother Durgaraja. Before we continue with the story of the Kakatiyas, it is important to first describe the general geopolitical condition of Telangana in the early 12th century. Telangana during this time was divided among many petty chiefs and rulers, most of whom swore allegiance to a more powerful ruler (like the Chalukya king of Kalyana) for protection. At this point, the Kakatiyas rule just one of several of these petty states. In addition to these minor chiefs, some parts of Telangana were also administered in a more direct fashion by powerful neighboring dynasties, like the aforementioned Chalukyas of Kalyana.

The following were the important political actors in Telangana during the early 12th century:

- 1) The **Kakatiyas**, the focus of this series, ruled over a small territory comprising the southern portion of modern-day Warangal district, and parts of neighboring Karimnagar district. Their capital at this time was at Anumakonda, which they held since the time of Beta I.
- 2) The **Polavasa chiefs** were based immediately north of the Kakatiya territories. They ruled over most of Karimnagar district and the northern part of Warangal district from their capital at Polavasa, which is the modern-day Polas in Jagtlal taluk. The Polavasa chiefs were subordinates of the Western Chalukyas, but revolted against their overlords during the early 12th century. However, they were eventually subdued by King Jagadekamalla II.
- 3) The **Mudigonda Chalukyas** were based east of the Kakatiya territories. They hailed from the village of Mudigonda (located near modern Khammam), and ruled most of modern-day Khammam district between the 8th and 12th centuries. They were originally subordinates of the Chalukyas of Vengi, but later passed under the suzerainty of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana. From c.1000 onwards, Bottu Beta and his successors ruled as subordinates of the latter.
- 4) The **Chodas of Kanduru** were located south of the Kakatiya dominions. They ruled over the region of Kandurunadu, which comprises parts of modern-day Nalgonda and Mahbubnagar districts. They had two capitals, one at Koduru in the west, and another at Panugallu in the east. During the early 12th century, the Chodas of Kanduru, like the other petty rulers mentioned, were subject to the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana.

- 5) The last important political actor that deserves mention is

### **Mahamandalesvara Paramara Jagaddeva.**

This prince of the Paramara dynasty was the grandson of Gondala, the paternal uncle of the famed King Bhoja of Malwa. Jagaddeva worked under the Western Chalukyas as the governor of the Kollipaka-7000 province, which was located immediately west of the Kakatiya lands. The territory of Kollipaka was governed by Jagaddeva between 1104 and 1108. However, he was eventually deprived of this position by King Vikramaditya VI, after he attempted to establish an independent kingdom in the province. King Vikramaditya appointed his own son, Kumara Somesvara, to replace Jagaddeva as governor. In retaliation, Jagaddeva seems to have allied himself with the Polavasa chiefs (who were also eager to break free from Chalukya dominance), and attacked other petty states who remained allied with the Western Chalukyas. In particular, Jagaddeva launched an attack on the Kakatiyas to his east.

## **The Reign of Prola II (c.1116-1157)**

**Jagaddeva's attack on the Kakatiya capital** of Anumakonda was repulsed by Prola II before his ascension. The earliest record of Prola II is dated to CV 42, i.e 1117 C.E. He seems to have had the full support of the reigning Chalukya monarch, Vikramaditya VI, and it is possible that the Western Chalukyas lent assistance to Prola during his struggle with Durgaraja.

**The region of Kandurunadu** located south of the Kakatiya territory formed the *yuvaraja-vritti* or *kumara-vritti* (royal appanage) of Kumara Tailapa, the younger brother of the Chalukya king Somesvara III. It appears that Kumara Tailapa was active in the region even during the reign of his father, King Vikramaditya, as Tailapa's earliest inscriptions in Kandurunadu date to 1110 C.E. In addition to Kandurunadu, Kumara Tailapa also held the province of Sindavadi, with its capital at Tumbalam (near Adoni). It seems that Tailapa distributed the governorship of Kandurunadu between two brothers of the Choda family, Bhima III (who held Kanduru) and Gokarna I (who held Panugallu). Prince Tailapa eventually sought to become independent of his elder brother. While Bhima III agreed to fight for Tailapa, Gokarna I remained loyal to King Somesvara. As a result, it seems that Gokarna was killed by Kumara Tailapa and Bhima III in 1128.

**Prola II, at the behest of King Somesvara**, invaded Kandurunadu to put an end to the rebellion. Prola attacked the general Govinda-damdesa, who had received Panugallu from Kumara Tailapa after Gokarna was killed. Upon defeating and killing Govinda-damdesa, Prola restored Panugallu to Udaya Choda, the son of Gokarna. Prola's campaign into Panugallu seems to have occurred sometime between 1128 and 1136. After the ascension of King Jagadekamalla II to the Chalukya throne in 1138, Prola intervened in Kandurunadu a second time. This time, Kumara Tailapa himself was defeated and captured, but Prola claims that he let him go "due to loyalty and affection". Presumably, the fact that Prince Tailapa was still a part of the royal Chalukya family, even though he was a rebel, saved his life.

**Shortly afterwards, King Jagadekamalla II** advanced against the Polavasa chief Medaraja and his brother Gunda, who had stopped acknowledging Chalukya suzerainty since the earlier part of the 12th century. Prola seems to have actively participated in this campaign, as he claims to have beheaded Gunda and stamped the symbol of *varaha* (the Chalukya/Kakatiya emblem) on his chest as a mark of humiliation. These events took place sometime between 1138 and 1141.

**By the 1140s the Kakatiyas** had emerged as most powerful of the local chiefs in Telangana, though they still did not dominate the whole region, and were still feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. Sometime during the latter part of his reign, Prola seems to have undertaken an expedition into coastal Andhra that resulted in him losing his life. Chodaya of the Kota family and the Haihaya chiefs Satya and Mallideva of the Konaseema (the Godavari delta region) came into conflict with Prola, and may be the ones who slew him. Mahadevaraja, a Suryavamshi chief and subordinate of the Eastern Chalukyas, bore the title *Prodari-badabaanala* ("fire to the enemy of Prola"), and also claimed to kill Prola. Regardless of who actually killed Prola, it seems fairly certain that he was killed during a military campaign of some sort into the coastal region.



## **The Reign of Rudradeva (c.1158-1195)**

**Prola was succeeded by his son Rudra** by 1158. He expanded on his father's military exploits and made the Kakatiyas the dominant power of Telangana. By 1163, the Kakatiyas were ruling as sovereign monarchs in their own right, as indicated in the Thousand Pillar Temple inscription at Anumakonda.

**At the onset of Rudra's reign**, Bhima Choda had established himself as an independent king in Kandurunadu. Viewing an independent, ambitious ruler in his immediate backyard as a threat, Rudra invaded Kandurunadu and captured the town of Vardhamapuri, driving Bhima Choda into the forest. It also seems that Rudra subjugated Udaya Choda of Panugallu during this campaign, which can be dated to sometime between 1157 and 1162. The Cheraku chiefs assisted Rudra in his invasion of Kandurunadu, and in return received the upper tract of the Srisailem forest (Cheraku-70) as a fief.

**To the north, the Kakatiyas expanded** their rule up to the Godavari river. Dommaraja, the lord of Nagunuru (near modern Karimnagar), was killed by Rudra and his lands taken. Rudra also defeated the Polavasa chief Medaraja, whose younger brother was beheaded by Rudra's father, and acquired his wealth and territory.

**Around the same time**, the rising power of the Kakatiyas brought them into conflict with the new Kalachuri dynasty of Kalyana, who had replaced the Chalukyas as rulers of north Karnataka. Seeking to reduce Kakatiya power and possibly obtain them as vassals (like the Chalukyas before them), Kalachuri Bijjala sent an army to Telangana under the command of Mailigi. This "Mailigi" may be either Bijjala's son or his younger brother. Mailigi didn't have much success in Telangana and soon retreated to Kalyana, with Rudra pursuing him. Although Rudra failed to capture the city of Kalyana itself, he could subsequently claim that his kingdom extended to the limits of that city. With the defeat and withdrawal of the Kalachuris, and the collapse of Western Chalukya power, the Kakatiyas were thus left as the independent rulers of Telangana.

**Rudra now turned his** attention to expanding Kakatiya power into coastal Andhra. Between 1172 and 1181, most of coastal Andhra from Darsi to Simhachalam was under the rule of the Velanati Choda king of Chanavolu, Kulottunga Rajendra Choda II. As long as coastal Andhra was under the dominance of a single powerful king, Rudra didn't have much chance of expanding into the region. However, when Rajendra Choda II died in 1181, the outbreak of the Palnadu War between different chiefs of the coastal region made things ripe for an outside intervention. Rudra was able to defeat the Kota chief Doddha Bhima and capture the city of Dharanikota, though he later installed Keta II, son of Doddha Bhima, as a feudatory ruler. Keta II assisted Rudra in his invasion of Velanadu and subjugation of the Kondapadumati chiefs. The Kakatiyas thus obtained their first footholds in the coastal belt in the 1180s.

**Rudradeva also established** a new capital for the expanding kingdom at Orugallu, not far from the old capital at Anumakonda. The fort at Orugallu and the surrounding villages would become the great city of Warangal, one of the foremost urban centers of 13th and 14th century India. The localities of the new capital were named after the towns conquered by Rudra, like Panugantivada (after Panugallu) and Nagara (after Nagunuru). Rudra also built the *Veyistambhalagudi* ("Thousand Pillar Temple"), which still stands to this day in Warangal.

## The Reign of Mahadeva (c.1195-1199)

**The last known record** of Rudra is dated to 26 April 1195. He died childless and was succeeded by his brother, Mahadeva, whose first known record is from 1197. The only major event of this king's short reign seems to have been an invasion of the Seuna Yadava kingdom in Maharashtra. The exact reason or details of this invasion are unknown, but the Kakatiya invasion seems to have been unsuccessful. It is likely that Mahadeva perished during the failed attack on Devagiri. The fact that the Seuna Yadava king Jaitugi I, a contemporary of Mahadeva, bore the title of *Telunguraya-shirah-kalamulotpatana* (i.e. "remover of the head of the Telugu king") also supports this hypothesis.

Thus concludes part two of the history of the Kakatiyas. In the part three, I will discuss the reigns of Ganapatideva and Rudramadevi, two famous and illustrious rulers of the Kakatiya dynasty.

## The Kakatiyas, Part III

Ganapatideva and Rudramadevi (1199-1289)

### The Reign of Ganapatideva (1199-1262)

**The earliest known record** of Ganapatideva is the Manthena epigraph, dated to 26 December 1199. It seems that the decade of the 1190s saw a series of misfortunes befall the Kakatiya kingdom. Besides the previously mentioned conflict with the Yadavas, in which King Mahadeva was killed, the Palampet inscription of 1213 indicates that there was a major political crisis caused by the ambitions of certain noble families. Nagatiraja and his brother Kusumaditya, both members of the old Mudigonda Chalukya family, ruled Visurunadu (in modern-day Khammam district) until they were driven out by Rudradeva in the later part of his reign. The Mudigonda Chalukyas, being dispossessed of their lands, temporarily sought refuge in other kingdoms. Eventually, Nagatiraja was able to gather an army, and led an invasion of the Kakatiya kingdom to reclaim his ancestral territories. However, Nagatiraja was decisively defeated by the Kakatiya general Recherla Rudra, thanks to whom the territorial integrity of the kingdom was preserved.

**After dealing with** the Mudigonda Chalukyas, Ganapatideva turned to coastal Andhra like his father before him. The Kakatiyas launched a military campaign into the Krishna delta region in 1201, with an army commanded by Malyala Chaunda. The Krishna delta region was ruled by the Ayya chief Pinna Chodi from his island-fortress at Divi. After a difficult siege, Malyala Chaunda was able to capture the fortress, earning the title *dvipi-lumtaka*. King Ganapatideva was quite impressed by the abilities of Jayapa, the son of Pinna Chodi, and so recruited him into the royal service. In addition, the Ayya family was allowed to continue to rule the Krishna delta as vassals of the Kakatiyas.



Kakatiya Kala Thoranam  
(Warangal Gate) and Ruins

**Pinna Chodi** was most likely a vassal of the Velanati Choda king Prithvisvara before being subjugated by the Kakatiyas, so attacking Pinna Chodi also meant war with the Velanati Chodas. Sometime after Malyala Chaunda's campaign, King Prithvisvara marched south to the Krishna region. However, he was met by a coalition of forces who were opposed to the Velanati Chodas, including the Kakatiyas, Prince Tikka Bhupala of Nellore, and Mahamandalesvara Ballaya of Kammanadu. The Velanati Choda army was destroyed by the allied forces, and King Prithvisvara was killed. Subsequently, both Ganapatideva and Tikka Bhupala took the title *Prithvisvara-shirah-kanduka-krida-vinoda*, i.e. "one who played ball with the head of Prithvisvara." The last known record of Prithvisvara was in 1206, while the earliest known record of Ganapatideva in Velanadu (roughly the region between the Krishna and Penner rivers) is in 1209. Thus, it seems that Velanadu was annexed by the Kakatiyas sometime between 1206 and 1209. In 1213, Ganapatideva appointed Jaya-senapati as governor of the province.

**Shortly after the Kakatiya conquest** of Velanadu, Ganapatideva also intervened in Nellore on behalf of his new ally, Tikka Bhupala. Until c.1208, Nellore was ruled by the brothers Nallasiddhi and Tammusiddhi, who were nominally subject to Kulottunga Chola III. However, Tikka Bhupala considered himself to be the rightful ruler of Nellore, as he was the son of the previous king Manumasiddhi. Ganapatideva thus advanced on Nellore and installed Tikka Bhupala as a subordinate ruler. Jayapa, the son of Pinna Chodi, was appointed as the viceroy over this southern region.

**Sometime after the Nellore expedition** and before 1213, the Kakatiyas also launched an invasion of Kalinga. An army commanded by Rajanayaka and Induluri Soma-mantri was sent north of the Godavari river, and managed to penetrate as far as Aska in the modern Ganjam district. However, the Kakatiyas were not able to hold on to this territory. The Eastern Ganga king Ananga Bhima III, who ascended the throne in 1211, succeeded in driving back the Kakatiyas, and was even able to cross the Godavari river into Vengi.

**Following the Kalinga expedition**, a state of uneasy peace seems to have prevailed between the Kakatiyas and Eastern Gangas for about two decades. The territory north of the Godavari was under Eastern Ganga rule during this time, as evidenced by their inscriptions at Draksharama (the last such inscription being dated to 1233). However, the Gangas also failed to make any headway into the Vengi region, located south of the Godavari river. The most important local potentate of Vengi during this time was Mahamandalesvara Kolani Kesavadeva (1192-1228), who ruled the Kolanu region in modern-day West Godavari district. The region of Kolanu was eventually conquered by Induluri Soma-mantri, who was henceforth called Kolani Soma. The Draksharama inscription of the Kakatiya general Mallala Hemadi Reddi, dated to 1237, also indicates that the territory immediately north of the Godavari delta came under Kakatiya control in the 1230s.

**In the south, King Ganapatideva's ally** in Nellore, Tikka Bhupala, died in 1248. However, the succession of Tikka Bhupala by his son, Manumasiddhi II, was disputed by Vijayaganda Gopala, a Choda pretender. Vijayaganda Gopala rose in rebellion and seized the southern part of the Nellore kingdom, including the modern-day Thiruvallur and Vellore districts of Tamil Nadu. Meanwhile, the ministers Bayyana and Tikkana also rose in revolt against Manumasiddhi II, and drove him out of Nellore. Manumasiddhi II thus appealed to King Ganapatideva for assistance, who sent an army south under Samanta Bhoja. The Kakatiya army recaptured Nellore, put Bayyana and Tikkana to death, and re-installed Manumasiddhi II as ruler. Samanta Bhoja then proceeded further south, where he decisively defeated Vijayaganda Gopala at Palaiyaru in the modern-day Thanjavur district. The city of Kanchi was captured by the Kakatiya army in 1250.

**The final military action** of Ganapatideva was a conflict with the Pandyas of southern Tamil Nadu. Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan, who ascended the throne in 1251, conquered Kanchi and Nellore in the late 1250s. He then sent an army under the Kadava chief Kopperunjingan to invade Velanadu. King Ganapatideva was able to repulse this incursion, but he was unable to recapture Nellore or Kanchi. Manumasiddhi II, the Kakatiyas' ally in Nellore, was killed by the Pandya army at the Battle of Muttukuru in 1263. The Kakatiyas would not reassert their authority in this southern region until the early 1300s.

## The Reign of Rudramadevi (1262-1289)

**Ganapatideva had no male children**, so he nominated his daughter Rudrama as heir to the throne. She began ruling as co-regent in 1259 under the masculine name of Rudradeva Maharaja, and became the primary ruler after her father retired from politics in 1262. However, Ganapatideva remained alive until at least 1269, which is the last known record of him.

**In addition to losing the Nellore region** to the Pandyas, the Kakatiyas in the 1260s also suffered a reverse in the Godavari delta region. In 1262, the Eastern Ganga king Narasimhadeva I erected an inscription proclaiming his authority over this region, while his son and successor, Bhanudeva I, erected two similar inscriptions in 1274. Rudramadevi sent an army against the Gangas under Proli-nayaka and Poti-nayaka, who appeared to have succeeded in reasserting Kakatiya rule over this region by 1278. The old boundary between the Kakatiya and Eastern Ganga kingdoms was thus re-established.

**Rudramadevi also fought against** the Seuna Yadavas to the north. According to the Telugu chronicle *Prataparudracharitam*, the Yadava king Mahadeva invaded Telangana and advanced up to Warangal itself. However, this army was routed by Queen Rudrama after fighting for 15 days, and the Kakatiyas were then said to have pursued the defeated Yadavas into their own territory. This is corroborated by epigraphic evidence from the region of Bedadakota (Bidar), which was subsequently annexed by the Kakatiyas. The defeated king Mahadeva also was forced to pay a large sum of money and horses as indemnities.

**The greatest threat to the integrity** of the Kakatiya realm, however, came from the rebellion of one of the Kakatiyas' own subordinates. The Kayastha chief Jannigadeva had been a loyal subordinate of Rudramadevi in the southern parts of the kingdom, and successfully prevented the Pandyas from establishing control over the Kadapa district. Jannigadevi's younger brother and successor, Tripurari (1270-1272), also remained loyal to Rudramadevi. However, Tripurari's successor, Ambadeva, was quite unlike his predecessors.

**Ambadeva was extremely ambitious and** sought to carve out an independent kingdom for himself. To this end, he sought friendship and assistance from the Kakatiyas' enemies, the Pandyas and Yadavas, and waged war against the Kakatiya feudatories in southern Andhra. Ambadeva first attacked Sripati Ganapati, based at Gurindala in Guntur district, who he defeated in 1273. During this conflict, Ambadeva also claims to have killed the royal nayakas of the Kakatiya army, who were probably assisting Sripati Ganapati. Ambadeva then attacked the Vaidumba chiefs Kesavadeva and Somideva of Kalukada, and defeated them along with Allu Ganga of Gutti, their ally. He acquired the town of Valluru by the Penner river and made it the capital of his nascent kingdom. Ambadeva now advanced against Manu Mallideva of Eruva, and annexed the region after killing him. Through a diplomatic marriage, Ambadeva also acquired Pedakollu.

**Meanwhile, the Pandyas**, who had earlier supported Ambadeva, now grew weary of his rising power and influence on their northern border. The Pandyas once again invaded southern Andhra in 1282-83, and were probably assisted by the Vaidumba chiefs (who were dispossessed of their territory by Ambadeva). However, the Pandyas and their allies failed to make any headway against Ambadeva, and had to withdraw in defeat by 1286. In his Attirala epigraph of 1287, Ambadeva could thus triumphantly claim to be an independent king ruling over Gandikota, Mulikinadu, Renadu, Pedakallu, Sakili, Eruva, and Pottapinadu.

**By the late 1280s**, the Kakatiyas had lost control over much of their territory south of the Krishna river. Based on the Chandupatla epigraph, it seems that Queen Rudramadevi died sometime in November 1289, alongside her general Mallikarjuna Nayaka. It is very likely that they both died while fighting against Ambadeva.

*In the next entry, we will examine the reign of the great Prataparudra, under whom the Kakatiyas were able to rebound from the disaster of Ambadeva's rebellion and attain their zenith, but under whom the Kakatiyas also met their ultimate demise. The Kakatiyas would soon encounter a power far unlike anything they had dealt with before.*

### *An excerpt from RICHARD, the man behind the myth*

When Richard was born, being the youngest son and child of the Duke and Duchess of York, he seemed the most unlikely person to become King. He had learnt at Middleham Castle to be a soldier and a knight, and that is where he first met Anne Neville, later to be his wife. Life had ended abruptly when the Earl of Warwick had fallen out with Edward IV, and Richard was in Edward IV court with its plots and intrigues and unpopular scheming Woodvilles. Richard had married Anne, became the lord of the North, and was well loved. His whole life changed when news came of his brother Edward's death. He reluctantly went to London only to find himself in the middle of a hornet's nest. Tales of murder and Margaret Beaufort's hidden agendas had never made it easy. By the time Bosworth happened, Richard had certainly had nothing but bad luck during his time as King. He had lost his only son and only just become a widow, death must have been preferable. It had seemed that even in death, he had no luck. He was to become the product of Tudor propaganda, a villain in the history books.

### — Andrea Willers — **RICHARD,** THE MAN BEHIND THE MYTH



You know this author by her Historum name *Chrystal Rainbow*. Now the secret is out. She is the author Andrea Willers and proud writer of *Richard, Man behind the myth*. Her passion for history began in the early years of school when she couldn't understand why the period of the War of the Roses was so confusing and so conflicting. It was in those formative years that she visited a museum in York which instilled in her a passion for Richard III. During that visit she had, "...felt quite saddened at what I was looking at; it had plenty of references to Shakespeare's play, Richard III, and a mock trial to see if Richard was innocent or guilty of murdering the princes in the tower. I heard a small cry in protest, "I hate Richard" and the graffiti in the visitor book-I knew I had to research about the life of this man."

She lives in Scotland with her partner Graeme, whose patience and company on research trips about Yorkshire she gives credit for the book finally finding a place on history shelves. Well done Andrea.

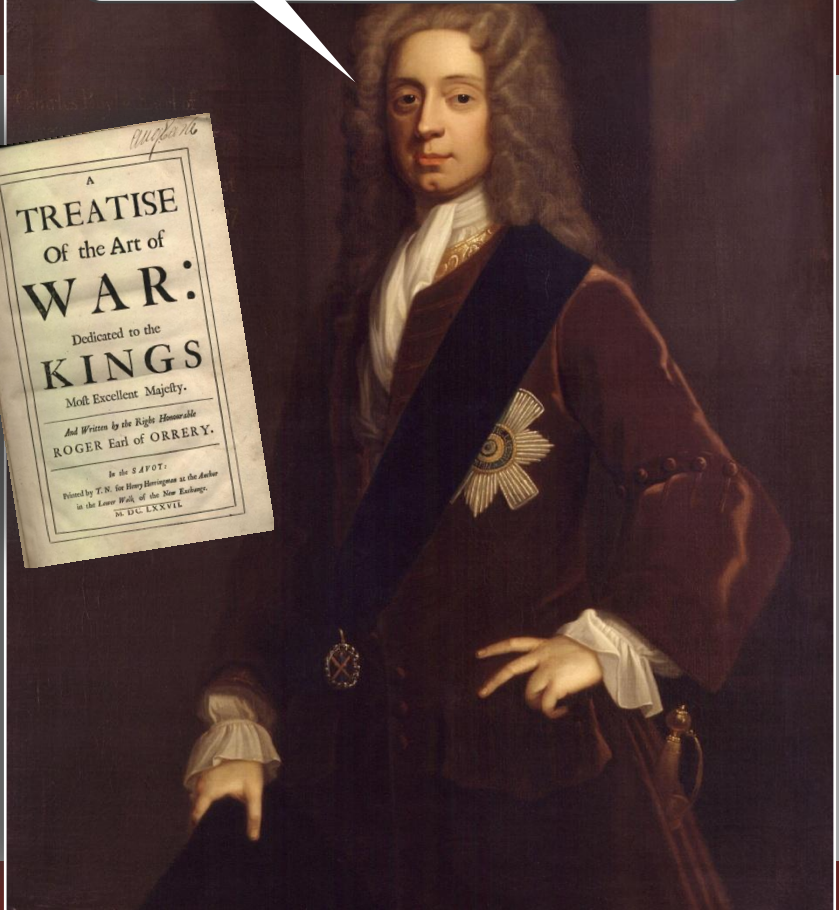
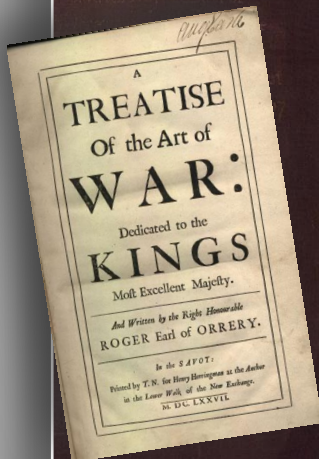
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# Pre-battle Speeches: Truth or Fiction?

by M.E.T.H.O.D.

*"The making of a speech by a general to a whole army before a Battle is often read of in our best Histories, as well as romances, but ought in my belief to be found only in the latter..."*

Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery - A treatise of the Art of War (London, 1677).





**Military speeches** are now almost a staple of our popular culture: every movie or television series that involves battles, both historical or set in a fantasy world, contains scenes where the commander on call is seen addressing his men with high sounding words before a confrontation with the enemy.

**Famous examples** of this include Mel Gibson's *Braveheart* (1995) and Oliver Stone's *Alexander* (2004).

**In most movies**, the speech before the battle is one of the most emotional moments in the whole film and most of the times the speech itself seems to be a "magical force" even capable to turn an outnumbered and ill-equipped force into a well-oiled and deadly war machine, able to defeat a superior enemy (like in *Braveheart*)

**Do all these examples** reflect an historical truth or are they simply an artistic creation (of our literature first and then by Hollywood)?

Were pre-speeches this important in the history of Classical, Medieval and Modern warfare?

**The first example** that I will provide is the speech that the Athenian strategos Hippocrates gave to his men before the battle of Panion (420 BC) against the Beotians. This speech, that was recorded by Thucydides in his "History of the Peloponnesian War" starts with the phrase: "*Men of Athens, there is not much time for exhortation, but to the brave a few words are as good as many*" and then continues with several patriotic lines[1].

**I would like to address** two points in regard to this pre-battle speech. First, the term "strategos" (army commander), as used in the 5th century BC in Greece can be "problematic" for our analysis of pre-battle speeches made by generals, since at that time strategoi were as much military figures as they were politicians and statesmen, so they are probably not the best example, or rather, an historical exception. Secondly, and most importantly, Hippocrates did not even have the time to finish his speech, he was still proceeding in front of his army when the Beotian made their attack on the Athenian lines (his "...there is not much time of exhortation..." had proved prophetic); Hippocrates himself was killed during the early stages of the battle, which resulted in a victory for the Beotians, while the Athenians lost more than a thousand men.



**If we move to** analyze Alexander the Great pre-battle speech at Issus (333BC), we will have to deal with two conflicting sources, an account is given by Arrian in his "Anabasis Alexandri", another by Qitus Curtius Rufus in his "Historiae Alexandri Magni". According to the Greek-born historian, Alexander had a private meeting with his generals, where he addressed them with encouraging words and where he stressed the differences between them, Greek free men and their enemies, the Persians and the Greek mercenaries[2].



**On the other hand**, Q.C. Rufus' chronicle tells us of an Alexander mounted on Bucephalus who addressed his whole army lined up before the battle.

**Personally I'm more oriented** towards Arrian's account and for this reason I would like to directly quote a passage of Mogens Herman Hansen's "But when an army was lined up in a phalanx the general must have exhorted the units successively. It is implausible that, walking along the ranks, he made one coherent speech so that the left wing heard the proimion, the centre the core of the speech, and the right wing the epilogos. It is equally implausible that the general stopped five or six times and delivered his entire speech wherever he stopped"[3]. Giving a speech to let's say twenty thousand men before the invention of the megaphone must have been a quite complicated thing!

**Rufus' description** of Alexander's speech at Issus also contrast with what he did at Gaugamela (331BC) where he convened his senior officers in a war council and "...said that they did not require to be encouraged by him to enter the contest; for they had been long before encouraged by their own valour, and by the gallant deeds which they had already so often achieved. He thought it expedient that each of them individually should stir up his own men separately..."[4]. Note also how this account considerably differs with Alexander's speech before Gaugamela as depicted in the movie *Alexander* by Oliver Stone.

**An important thing** to consider in Greek and Hellenistic history is that military speeches are neglected by most rethors in their works: Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* includes tips on how to write a funeral eulogy, a legal or a deliberative speech but there is no mention of pre-battle speeches. military speeches are also absent from Libanius' *Declamations* (a collection of rethoric speeches of various nature).

**A very long, detailed** and elaborate speech is given by Hannibal before the Battle of Ticinus (218BC) and recorded by both Polybius[5] and Livy[6], two giants of Graeco Roman historiography. What differs from the other battles that we have encountered thus far is that at Ticinus, the Carthaginian and Roman armies were separated by a river(the Ticino), so Hannibal had all the time to prepare such a speech; moreover, Punic scouts were constantly monitoring the Roman moves on the other bank of the river, therefore we can assume that Hannibal was quite relaxed, as the threat of an enemy attack was low, compared to the other battle accounts provided.

**The final decades** of the Roman Republic gave us alot of military history material and sources, including a good number of accounts or pre-battle speeches. In my opinion, the most striking example is delivered by Catiline at the battle of Pistoia(62 BC), the final act of the so-called "Second Catiline Conspiracy". The speech, as recorded by Sallust[7], is long, eloquent and very potent, so much that we can tell that for Catiline and his army it was a "do or die" situation. A very interesting feature of this speech, besides the usual encouraging and inspiring words, is its very pragmatic beginning, that I would like to quote:*"I am well aware, soldiers, that words cannot inspire courage; and that a spiritless army cannot be rendered active, or a timid army valiant, by the speech of its commander"*.



*Hannibal at the Battle of Ticinus*

**Pistoia shares** similarities with Delium, the first battle mentioned in this work: the commanders addressing the troops (Hippocrates and Catilina) were more famous for their oratory and political skills than for their military experience and they both perished in combat, found dead in the front ranks of their respective armies.

**To complete the trio** of the greatest generals of the Classical period we have here Caesar, who seemed to have pronounced a speech similar to the ones cited in the introduction during the final phase of his second campaign in Britannia (54 BC) before a battle against the allies of the Briton chief Cassivelaunus: the then Roman Triumvir, gladius in his hand, incited his legionaries with a very passionate speech about the courage and the martial abilities of his own men, the glory of Rome and the perils they had overcome together[8].

**The army responded** with a loud shout and prepared for the fight; the inspired legionaries prevailed over the barbarians after a bloody battle and were able to return to Gallia safely.

**This speech of Julius Caesar** definitely proved instrumental in the victory of the Romans, since the army was then suffering from low morale after several Briton attacks and ambushes; there is only one problem with this speech: it appeared for the first time on Henry of Huntington's *"Historia Anglorum"*, a chronicle of the history of Britain written more than a thousand years after the time of Caesar, so its authenticity is very dubious to say the least.

**The Roman general** himself gave us an account [9] of his speech before the Battle of Pharsalus (48BCE) against the Optimates; if we compare this with the fictitious speech he did in Britannia, we can point out that the former is notably drier and shorter than the latter and it also lacks the emotionality (or the "epicness") of the speech made right before the battle against the Britons: Caesar spoke about peace and the care for his soldier instead of honour, glory and dying for Rome.

**The general also** gave us the speeches of his two main adversaries at Pharsalus, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus and Titus Labienus; in Caesar's own account, both commanders sound over-confident and arrogant (especially Labienus, who denigrates the army of the Populares)[10] and we can see a clear-cut contrast with Caesar's more humble speech. If Caesar's authenticity of his own battle exhortation cannot be disputed, we must be careful with his account of Pompey and Labienus' speeches, after all, all we know of them comes from the pen of their very enemy (Caesar's himself) and we must remember that Labienus had previously fought side-by-side with Caesar in Gaul. In this case, the victor could have exacted "revenge" on his former comrade, now enemy and "traitor" by putting arrogant words in his mouth.

**Still another pre-battle** speech of the Roman Era, this time given by a "barbarian", happened at Mons Graupius (83 AD), a battle which saw Roman legions commanded by Gnaeus Julius Agricola clash with the Caledonians under Calgacus.

**The chieftain addressed** his troops before the engagement with the invading Romans with a very long speech (it consists of 37 lines as recorded by Tacitus)[11] that compares the freedom of their Caledonian lands with the rapacious, greedy and violent Roman world. The highlight of this speech is definitely the famous phrase: "They make a desert and call it peace" ("*ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*").

**Most historian consider** this speech to be entirely fabricated by Tacitus and the existence of Calgacus himself is dubious.

**The Battle of Mons Graupius** also saw a speech given by Agricola, which is less known but comparable in both length (32 lines) and content to its "barbarian" counterpart. This time the Romans are portrayed as brave and loyal men, while the Britons are a "mere crowd of spiritless cowards", compared to animals running away from the huntsman[12]. Even this military oration is regarded as artificial by the contemporary scholarly world. Interestingly, Agricola states that the speech of Agricola was followed with great enthusiasm by his army, which numbered around 20 thousand men but again it is quite implausible to be heard by such a multitude of soldiers. This can only reinforce the consideration that Agricola's speech is made up by Tacitus.

**In these last two examples**, Pharsalus and Mons Graupius, we have pre-battle speeches coming from both sides and here a simple question arises: "who could have been there to directly witness both?".

**Moreover, in such cases**, the speeches show parallelisms in terms of content or they appear like one commander was actually responding to the other, and these elements reinforce the idea that these were manufactured rather than genuine speeches.

The highlight of this speech is definitely the famous phrase:

"They make a desert and call it peace"

("ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant").

**With a jump forward** in history of almost one thousand years, we have the Battle of Hastings (1066), one of the most important, if not the most important Medieval battle in the European Continent. This battle is not only famous for its political implications, but also for the passionate speech that William gave to his men before engaging the army of Harold[13]. This battle exhortation is noted for its length (more than 700 words) and for William's initial historical digression, where he mentions Rollo, the founder of William's dynasty, Richard I, who defeated the French at Rouen in 962, and other Norman military exploits. William also mentions the Battle of Mortmer (1054), where he himself led his men against the invading forces of the King of France. This digression is used by the Duke to highlight the martial prowess of the Norman people, undefeated since the times of their Danish ancestors. Then William exhorts his men to unleash their rage against the English, labelled *"... people accustomed to be conquered, a people ignorant of war..."*. The speech concludes with the famous line *"...be ye the avengers of noble blood"*.

**Henry of Huntington**, who was born only 22 years after the battle, may have heard accounts of the battle of Hastings from the last surviving soldiers of William's army; moreover, it's quite possible that he also drew inspiration from older works like Guy Bishop of Amien's "Carmen de Hastingae Proelio", William of Jumièges's "Gesta Normannorum Ducum" and William of Poitiers's "Gesta Willelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum", which were all written in the years immediately following the Battle of Hastings. A point must be raised on the historical validity of these sources: despite their historical content and methodology, they are considered biased (pro-Norman sources, especially the last two works, which were written at the request of the Duke himself and can therefore be considered as pure propaganda).

**Moreover, several historians say** that all these works (including Henry of Huntington's chronicle) are "contaminated" by Classical rethoric, an almost constant element in Medieval writings. Last but not least, the battle exhortation before Hastings is not mentioned by William of Malmesbury, a contemporary of Henry of Huntington who wrote an account of the battle. Therefore, I am likely to discard the validity of this pre-battle speech; even the length and the content of the exhortation itself belong more to a public display than a "pure" military speech.

**The speech that William Wallace** gave to his men before the Battle of Stirling Bridge (1297), as depicted in the movie Braveheart, must be taken with a pinch of salt to say the least, since there are very scarce contemporary details of the battle and the figure of William Wallace himself became mythicized over the course of the centuries; the depiction of the battle itself in the movie is inaccurate: there is no bridge at all and elements of Stirling and Bannockburn (1314) are mixed together[14].

**Stirling itself was** more of a large scale ambush than the battle depicted in the movie and loud shouts would have very probably alerted the marching English of the Scottish presence, thus totally frustrating the surprise effect.

**Even the famous speech** that the English king Henry V pronounced before the battle of Agincourt (1415) is fictional, as no contemporary accounts mention it: it is none other than the work of the pen of William Shakespeare, who wrote the Henry V almost two centuries after the battle of the Hundred Years' War. Even though the "St. Crispin's Day Speech" is entirely the creation of a playwright, it is one of the best examples of war speeches.

**It begins with a pessimistic** Ralf de Neville questioning the chances of the English Army against the more numerous French army, sporting the best cavalry of the time (note that the historical Earl of Westmoreland was not present at the Battle of Agincourt); spurred by his cousin's negativity, the King addresses his men, nobles and common soldiers alike about his notion of honour and comradeship[15], resulting in the famous :

*"We few, we happy few, we band of brothers; For he to-day that sheds his blood with me; Shall be my brother".*

**A very good case**, this time autochthonous, happens to be the battle of Knockdoe (1504) fought between the Anglo-Irish army of the Earl of Kildare and the Irish army of Ulick Burke.

**Before the Battle**, the Earl addressed his men with a speech that shares similarities with what Alexander said before Issus (as recorded by Arrian): he commented on the aspect of Burke's men, "without wisdom or good order", "as drunken as swine" and how they were far from home, fighting for honour and for their pride[16]. The truthfulness of this speech is questioned by a good number of experts and it is considered altered by later interventions or even completely made-up.

**Even the details of the battle** itself resemble more the work of a poet than the pen of an historian: Knockdoe is presented as a series of single duels similar to the fights of the legendary Fianna and there are no details regarding battle manoeuvres and tactics employed. Interestingly, Knockdoe is the only 16th century Irish battle where a pre-battle speech was recorded; at clashes like Knockavoe (1522), Farsetmore (1567) or Yellow Ford (1598) we only know of the loud shouts coming from the gallows soldiers, eager for the upcoming onslaught.

**On the day of Easter** of the year 1512, the French commander Gaston de Foix made a remarkable pre-battle speech before clashing with the forces of the Holy League at Ravenna. The speech, as reported by the Renaissance historian Francesco Guicciardini[17], is long (it consists of more than 700 words) and with an aggressive style: he spurs his soldiers to attack valiantly and to defeat the enemy in order to avenge previous "insults" and then take possession of the riches of Ravenna first and then Rome and Naples. This speech is also interesting because de Foix also mentions the Italian and German allies with their respective virtues, compared to the cowardly Spaniards. More specifically, he also mentions the opposing commanders and leaders, namely Pedro Navarro, Fabrizio and Marcantonio Colonna and Julius II, labelled "the False Pope". The length of de Foix's pre-battle speech can be explained with relative ease; as the Papal-Spanish army was placed inside a fortified camp and with no intention to give battle, the French commander had all the time to address his men in such eloquent way from a relatively secure position. Ravenna differs from the archetypical pitched battle and so does, to a certain extent, the de Foix's speech.

Klushino (1610), the battle which saw the outnumbered Polish-Lithuanian forces prevailing over a Russo-Swedish Army thanks to the devastating charges of the famous hussars, is also worth to study for the pre-battle speech delivered by the commander of the Polish army, Stanislaw Zolkiewski.

**It consists of a single line** in the Latin language: "*Necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus in victoria*", that can be translated as "in the necessity of the place (the battlefield), hope was placed on courage and safety in the victory" As the attack came before dawn and Zolkiewski wanted to catch the enemy positions by surprise, we can perfectly understand the reason behind such a short speech, as there was no time to waste[18].

**The Polish commander**, displayed his knowledge of Classical literature in addition to military acumen: the Latin expression was coined by Tacitus to describe the situation of the German and Roman armies before a battle during Germanicus Julius Caesar's campaign (14-16 AD) [19].



Stanislaw Zolkiewski

**At the battle of Lutzen** (1632), one of the key and most dramatic episodes of the Thirty Years' War, Gustavus Adolphus made a pre-battle speech before the final advance of the Swedish army against Wallenstein's forces. Here the king only addressed his Swedish forces, notably the cavarly, with short but encouraging sentences, for winning the day was their only chance to see their homecountry again. Then Gustavus Adolphus ended his speech with the battlcry "*Jesu! Jesu!*"[20], a sign that the religious element in the conflict was still alive. We can comprehend the king's decision to only speak with his native forces by taking a look at all the nationalities serving under the Swedish banners as mercenaries: the army of the Lion of the North included troops from Germany (the largest foreign contingent), Britain (including Scottish soldiers and Irish mercenaries "posing" as Scottish)[21], France and Holland. Addressing such a multinational force in its entirety would have surely created linguistic issues, something clearly avoidable before a battle; moreover the Swedish front at Breitenfeld ranged from two to two kilometers and a half(in two lines), even with a voice worthy of the most powerful of the tenors, it would have been impossible to reach a single brigade , let alone the entire army.

**Twelve years after Lutzen**, at the Battle of Tippermuir (1644) James Graham, another outstanding general of the XVII century, addressed his men before a confrontation with the better equipped and more numerous Covenanters(there was at least a 3:1 ratio in favour of the Scottish). In this concise speech the Marquiss of Montrose did not waste his time in idealisms or in resounding words, he chose to focus on pure practical considerations:"...*as there happens to be a great abundance of stones upon this moor, every man should provide himself, in the first place, with as stout a one as he can manage, rush up to the first Covenanter he meets, beat out his brains, take his sword...*"[22]

**At the same time**, the Covenanters, Montrose's enemy, simply shouted "*Jesus and no quarters*", their battlcry. Another battle fought in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-51) which includes a pre-battle speech is Benburb (1646), between the Irish Confederates and the Scottish Covenanters. Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill, the commander of the Irish force (numbering around five thousand troops), addressed his men with a battle exhortation that contains several interesting elements.

**First, the commander** emphasize the suffering caused to them by the enemies they are about to face on the battlefield, "*...Know that those who stand before you ready to fight are those that banished you, your Wives and Children from your lands and Houses, and made you seek Bread and Livelihood in strange places...*"[23]. Then Ó Néill stresses the importance of Christianity and the differences with the enemy's religion and finally concludes the speech with some practical advice mixed with religious fervour, "*...Your word is Sancta Maria; and so, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, advance, and give not fire till you are within pike-length*".[24]

**Another extremely interesting** aspect of the exhortation given before Benburb is that Ó Néill's speech is that we have three different sources describing it, by three different authors with three different writing styles. The first account of the speech is given by an unknown British XVIIth century soldier who served in the Regiment of Sir John Clotworthy; he reported the exhortation as a direct speech and it is the most detailed of the three, with resounding and emphatic words. The second account is given by Irishman and more precisely Colonel Henry Mc Tuoll O'Neill, who recorded the memory of General Owen O'Neill, who directly served under Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill in the 1640s.

**In the account** of the battle of Benburb as described by General O'Neill, the pre-battle speech is only briefly and indirectly mentioned.

**The third and last** account of the exhortation given to the troops is by the Irish Franciscan friar Tarlach Ó Mealláin, who was present at the battle. Just like the first one, this account directly quotes Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill's words, but this time in Gaeilge and with a very forthright style with no-frills[25].

**Despite the difference** in style and structure of the versions provided, all three share a same common content, namely the religious leitmotif and the strong will of redemption of the Irish soldiers after years of Protestant oppression. Therefore I consider all these accounts to be faithful to history, especially the last two. The first description of the speech, the one provided by the anonymous British officer presents some taints of Classical rhetoric in it, something that is usually "artificially" added by chroniclers who did not directly witness the event (the British could have only been present at the battle on the enemy side).



**I would like to conclude** my personal analysis of pre-battle speeches with a completely different example, regarding both the battle and the speech itself. I'm going to mention Trafalgar (1805), a naval battle, where the general's exhortation before the clash was given by using signal flags instead of words[26]. The iconic phrase *"England expects that every man will do his duty"* was not uttered, but rather lifted to the mizzen raft of Nelson's flagship HMS Victory and showed to the British fleet.

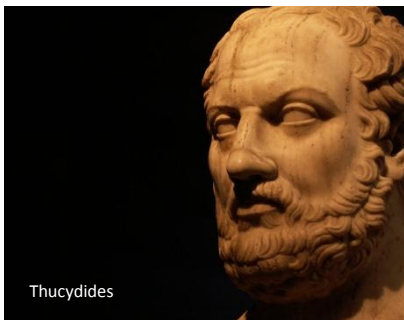
**Flag signals do not** allow for very complex sentences without running into confusion (in fact Nelson's original phrase had to be changed for practical reasons) but this exhortation strikes me for his patriotism and power in such a simple syntax and displays striking similarities with several spoken pre-battle exhortations.

**My final opinion** is that in the case of pre-battle speeches, reality (and therefore history) is definitely different from literature and cinema, in a modern context. Most of the longer exhortation seem to be the product of untrustworthy later reports tainted by Graeco-Roman rhetoric (a point clearly stated by Mogens Herman Hansen in his work) and this later influenced later accounts of pre-battle speeches, up until the early-modern era, where battle account started to become more faithful and precise. To make it more clear, I'm not saying that pre-battle speeches never happened, but rather than they tended to take the form of a few powerful and catchy lines or even words, easy to remember (like at Klushino or Lutzen), or more complex discourses, but given to the officers only (like what Alexander did before Gaugamela). Longer speeches are the product of less-threatening battle situations, where the two armies were not ready to clash yet (like at Trebia and Ravenna).

**Similarly, complex** and articulated military exhortations, full of rhetoric elements, were given before the start of military campaigns, where the risk of an encounter with the enemy was basically non existent. Famous and vivid example of this include Trajan's "adlocutio" during his Dacian campaign (101-106 AD), which is depicted in the Trajan's Column in Rome, Maximinus Thrax's speech[27] before his march into Italy (238 AD) and Napoleon's speeches in the Italian Campaign of 1796-1797.

**For the end of this essay,** I'd like to return to where I started, Greek history and more specifically Thucydides. The Athenian historian, in his magnum opus *"The History of the Peloponnesian War"* makes a very frank and clear statement regarding all the speeches he put in his work (including therefore battle exhortations) and the difficulty with their relative sources, something that even contemporary historian face on an everyday basis. *"With reference to the speeches in this history, some were delivered before the war began, others while it was going on; some I heard myself, others I got from various quarters; it was in all cases difficult to carry them word for word in one's memory, so my habit has been to make the speakers say what was in my opinion demanded of them by the various occasions, of course adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what they really said...My conclusions have cost me some labour from the want of coincidence between accounts of the same occurrences by different eye-witnesses, arising sometimes from imperfect memory, sometimes from undue partiality for one side or the other ..."*[28]

Thucydides here states what many other chroniclers of history did, namely the interpretation or even the construction of a battle exhortation based on the context of the battle and the personality of the commanders involved, even if the speech never happened in real life or was different from the one that went down into history; but even though we can doubt the veracity of those speeches (most of the times tainted by literature or rhetoric), we got to thank historians like Thucydides for their massive efforts in creating coherent and vivid accounts of battles.



Thucydides



**John Gibbon**

**Loyal and  
Able Soldier**

by Viperlord

**John Gibbon** was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in April 1827.

When he was ten years old, his family moved to Charlotte, North Carolina. He graduated from West Point in 1847, and was commissioned as a brevet second lieutenant in the 3rd US Artillery.

After the Mexican War, Gibbon served in southern Florida, and later taught artillery tactics at West Point. During his time at West Point, he wrote *The Artillerist's Manual*, in 1859. This manual was used for gunnery instruction by both sides in the Civil War.

When the Civil War broke out, Gibbon was serving as a Captain of Battery B, 4th US Artillery in Utah. Gibbon was brought up in North Carolina, and his father was a slaveholder. Three brothers, and several other relatives joined the Confederacy.

Despite this, Gibbon choose to remain loyal to his oath to the Union.

After coming to Washington, Gibbon was appointed chief of artillery for Major General Irvin McDowell. After serving at that post for some time, Gibbon was appointed brigadier general of volunteers. Due to the lack of representation in Congress for deserving North Carolinians at that time, he had some difficulty in obtaining the command, but eventually applied to General James Wadsworth, a more politically influential soldier from New York. He was placed in command of the brigade of westerners known as **King's Wisconsin Brigade**, which included his former command of Battery B. Gibbon set quite a contrast with the "Bland but genial" former commander of the brigade. He was certainly not bland, and made little effort to be genial.

Gibbon proved remarkably adept at handling volunteers. He did not share the negative opinions some regular army officers held about volunteers, and found his western brigade men to be eager and intelligent. He came to believe that the best way to promote discipline and good order among volunteers was a system of awards to recognize achievement, and penalties designed to hurt their pride. One particular problem when Gibbon assumed command of the brigade was the soldiers' habit of stealing fences to build shelter or fires. This was against regulations, regardless of who owned the fence. Gibbon's solution was simple; when a fence was torn down, the regiment nearest it was required to rebuilt it. This undoubtedly caused some grumbling, but fence-stealing was said to be considerably on the wane after this.

Gibbon also found that giving the well-turned out soldiers twenty-four hour passes for blackberrying worked miracles in the appearance and bearing of his men. He further instituted strict regulations regarding the duties of sentries, who were to "walk their posts", "Be alive" and to salute all officers. The first offender of this order of Gibbon's was made to sit all day on a barrel in front of the guard tent.



General Rufus King

The **Iron Brigade**, also known as the **Iron Brigade of the West** or the **Black Hat Brigade**, was an infantry brigade in the Union Army of the Potomac during the American Civil War. Although it fought entirely in the Eastern Theater, it was composed of regiments from Western states (states that are today considered Midwestern. Noted for its strong discipline, its unique uniform appearance, and its tenacious fighting ability, the Iron Brigade suffered the highest percentage of casualties of any brigade in the war. The nickname "Iron Brigade", with its connotation of fighting men with iron dispositions, was applied formally or informally to a number of units in the Civil War and in later conflicts. The Iron Brigade of the West was the unit that received the most lasting publicity in its use of the nickname.

One more typically regular-army aspect of Gibbon's handing of his men was devotion to drills. A veteran of the brigade recalling the early period of Gibbon's command stated that there were "early morning drills, before breakfast, forenoon drills, afternoon drills, evening and night drills". Gibbon initially did not conduct brigade drill, but one day he overheard two of his soldiers talking. According to one of them, the general was "only an artillery officer", and didn't know anything about infantry drill. Stung by the remark, Gibbon acquired a manual on brigade drill and was soon proving the soldier wrong.

Probably Gibbon's most famous move as commander of his new brigade was to order his men to acquire a entirely new uniform. This new uniform was primarily based off that of the regular army, the "dark blue single-breasted frock coat with light blue collar trim and reaching almost to the knees, and light blue trousers." The men were also told to obtain white leggings and white cotton gloves for dress. The most famous uniform item they obtained however, was undoubtedly the black felt "Hardee" hat of the regulars, replacing the typical kepi. This would become their trademark, and earn them the nickname of the "Black Hat Brigade"



Hand-tinted ambrotype of a young Union soldier wearing a black-plumed Hardee hat. This photo has been "fopped" for left right correction.



Gibbon's brigade first saw real action at the Battle of Brawner's Farm, during the 2nd Bull Run campaign. Along with the rest of King's Division, his men were moving in the direction of Centreville. Here, just outside of Gainesville lurked the numerous veteran Confederate making up the command of the (in)famous "Stonewall" Jackson. Jackson, concerned that King's Division and the rest of John Pope's Army of Virginia might be heading to link up with the arriving divisions of McClellan's Army of the Potomac, determined to attack the portion of King's column directly to his front. This force was John Gibbon's Black Hats.

Jackson opened with artillery fire. Gibbon, the former artilleryman, brought up Battery B and responded with his own shelling. This exchange brought King's Division to a halt. Hatch's brigade moved past the area, and Patrick put his brigade under cover near the rear of the column, leaving the brigades of Gibbon and Doubleday as the only force Jackson would immediately have to deal with. As according to army commander John Pope, Jackson was at Centreville, and this area had been reconnoitered by Hatch's men, Gibbon assumed he was dealing with horse artillery, and sent forward the 2nd Wisconsin to deal with the guns. Advancing forward and driving back the Confederate skirmishers, the 2nd soon ran right into the "Stonewall" brigade, who opened fire into their right flank.

The 2nd did not waver, but responded to the surprise volley from the Rebels with a lethal fire of their own, and a brutal stand-up fight erupted. Gibbon sent forward the 19th Indiana to support the 2nd, and Jackson, personally directing regiments for some reason, sent in three regiments of Georgians. Gibbon called up the 7th Wisconsin to counter these new Confederates, and Jackson threw forward Trimble's brigade, which Gibbon met with his last reserve, the 6th Wisconsin. There was a gap present between the 6th and the remainder of the Black Hats, but two regiments from Doubleday were hurried forward to fill the gap in response to Gibbon's requests for assistance, arriving just after dark.





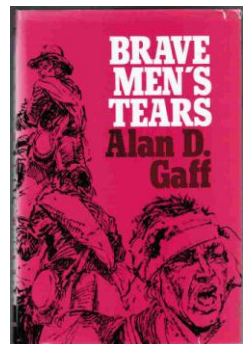
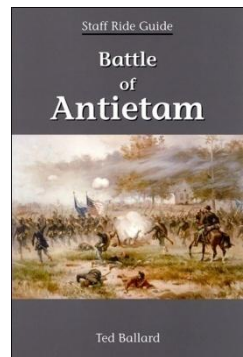
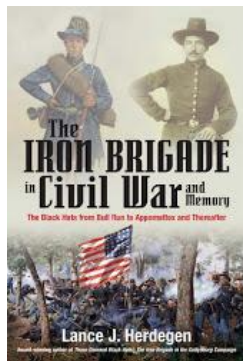
The result was a brutal, bloody stand-up fight of close range volleys. Both sides suffered enormously, with Union forces suffering nearly 1,000 casualties (The vast majority from Gibbon's brigade of 2,100) and the Confederates suffering even more, closer to 2,000. Jackson put nearly six thousand men into battle against Gibbon's 2,100 (rising to 2900 counting the later arrival of Doubleday's men), and was unable to achieve a tactical victory, due to his own piecemeal deployment of troops, and the tenacity of Gibbon's soldiers. Confederate Brig. Gen. William B. Taliaferro wrote, "In this fight there was no maneuvering and very little tactics. It was a question of endurance and both endured." Despite this, the battle worked into Jackson's overall plans, drawing John Pope's army into the Battle of 2nd Manassas.

Gibbon next saw action at the Battle of South Mountain. At Turner's Gap, his brigade led the central thrust against the Confederate defenders of the National Road while other Union forces assaulted the Confederate flanks. His brigade drove the Confederate brigade of Alfred Colquitt back along the road in splendid fashion, causing either army commander George McClellan or I Corps commander Joseph Hooker (Accounts seem to vary) to exclaim that those men must be "Made of iron!". This earned Gibbon's brigade their famous moniker of the "Iron Brigade".

Gibbon continued to lead his brigade for the Battle of Antietam, where his brigade was part of the opening morning assault upon their old nemesis, Stonewall Jackson's II Corps. Gibbon's men advanced directly down the Hagerstown turnpike along the edge of the infamous "Cornfield". After brushing aside the Stonewall Brigade, and advancing into the Cornfield and towards the West Woods, Gibbon's men were challenged by the charge of Starke's brigade. The Iron Brigade fought back ferociously, and drove Starke's brigade into retreat after mortally wounding that general. The brigade drove past the edge of the cornfield and the turnpike, advancing towards the Dunker Church.

The counterattack of Hood and Law's brigades swept the entire Union advance back through the Cornfield however, with their fire "Like a scythe running through our line". The Iron Brigade, with Major Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin waving the colors of his regiment, rallied on the northern edge of the cornfield. Gibbon's guns of Battery B were threatened with capture as they were now depleted of both horses and men. Gibbon ordered Dawes to bring the survivors of the brigade to the guns while he himself ran to them and directed their fire against the advancing Confederate onslaught.

The Seventh Wisconsin and Nineteenth Indiana of Gibbon's brigade, along with the brigade of Patrick, swung into the flank of the advancing Confederates, cutting them down with enfilading fire. The Confederates fled, but just as the Iron Brigade had, rallied and advanced again, bringing about what John Bell Hood called "The most terrible clash of arms that has occurred, by far, during the war". The fighting became so desperate that Gibbon himself manned a gun of Battery B in the fighting that ensued. The Confederate assault, finally broken, died back down, and Gibbon extricated his exhausted and bloodied brigade, which had fought magnificently. Following the battle, it was determined that throughout the campaign, Gibbon's Iron Brigade had no stragglers, with every man returning to the regiment being accountable to the return of wounded and sick from the hospitals. This was a distinction Gibbon was extremely proud of.





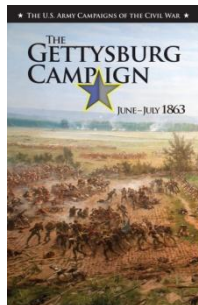
Following the conclusion of the campaign, Gibbon was promoted to command the 2nd Division of the I Corps. Gibbon's first reaction to the offer when General Reynolds made it he described thusly: "My first feeling was one of regret at the idea of being separated from my gallant brigade". Gibbon recovered himself however, and accepted the promotion. Rufus Dawes, who remained with the Iron Brigade and commanded the 6th Wisconsin at Gettysburg, summed up Gibbon's character and command thusly: "Thoroughly educated in the military profession, he had also high personal qualifications to exercise command. He was anxious that his brigade should excel in every possible way, and while he was an exacting disciplinarian, he had the good sense to recognize merit where it already existed. His administration left a lasting impression for good upon the character and military tone of the brigade, and his splendid personal bravery upon the battlefield was an inspiration".

At Fredericksburg, commanding the I Corps' 2nd Division, Gibbon played a very significant role in the battle. Ambrose Burnside intended for his later reviled assaults on Marye's Heights to be a diversion while he launched his real assault south of the city against Stonewall Jackson's lines. Unfortunately, his vague orders didn't make this apparent to his subordinates. William B. Franklin, commanding half of Burnside's army, received a vague order indicating he should send at least a division against Prospect Hill. Franklin chose to interpret the order very literally, and told I Corps commander Reynolds to select a division. Reynolds chose Meade's division, but detailed Gibbon's to support Meade.

Meade's division plunged through a gap in Jackson's line, where Jackson had believed the ground too swampy to be passable. Gibbon hurried to support Meade, but had to attack across open ground. Gibbon's first two brigades faltered under heavy fire, but Gibbon personally led his final brigade forward to break through the Confederate lines. The battle devolved into brutal hand-to-hand combat, but Gibbon's men rallied to break through the Confederate lines and seize the nearby railroad cut. Gibbon's men continued forward to push the Confederates through some wetlands, but following Meade's repulse, they were isolated and driven back by Confederate numbers. The Confederates counter attacked, driving the Union men, but were slowed down by the full force of Union artillery, and then driven back themselves once again by Gibbon and Meade's men. Gibbon and Meade were the only officers to achieve any real success against the Confederates lines

at Fredericksburg. Gibbon himself suffered a bad wound to the wrist from an exploding shell, and was out of action for a few months.

Gibbon returned for the battle of Chancellorsville, but his division was held in reserve.



During the Gettysburg Campaign, Gibbon was transferred to command the 2nd Division of the II Corps. One slightly unusual authority George Meade was given during the campaign was the authority to elevate officers more or less at will in complete disregard to seniority. He exercised this authority when he sent W.S. Hancock to Gettysburg ahead of his corps, telling Hancock to leave General Gibbon in command. Once at Gettysburg, Gibbon continued to more or less command the corps, as Hancock was effectively promoted to almost a second-in-command role to Meade. Gibbon was very involved with personally positioning the II Corps' troops, and these positions would prove to be crucial to the Army of the Potomac's success. II Corps played a role in repulsing Lee's final assaults on July 2nd, but the true test of the position would come on July 3rd. Following his council of war the night before the last day of battle, George Meade took Gibbon aside and predicted that Lee would make his assault on Gibbon's front. It was an astute observation, and Gibbon's troops would take the brunt of Lee's blow with Pickett's Charge. Gibbon and Hancock had done their work well however, and II Corps threw back the Confederate assault, inflicting grievous casualties on the Confederate divisions involved, with the line hardly being breached before it was quickly sealed again. The II Corps showed it's fighting quality at Gettysburg, and Gibbon had a large hand in it. Gibbon was once again wounded, along with his commander, Hancock. Gibbon's wound wasn't serious, and he was back in action with his division for 1864, but not before he had the opportunity to hear Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in 1863.

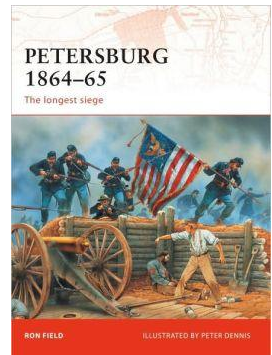
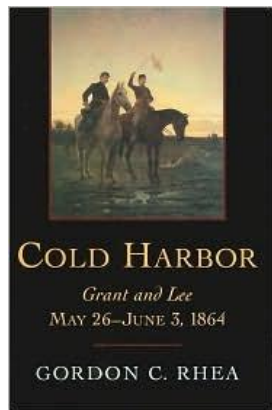
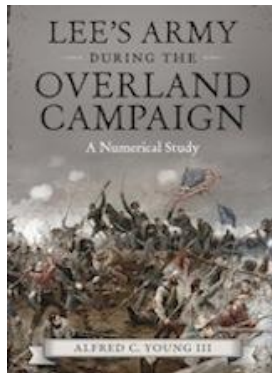
At the Wilderness, Gibbon's division participated in Hancock's virtual rout of A.P. Hill's III Corps on May 6th. As they continued to drive the seemingly broken Confederates, James Longstreet's I Corps arrived just in time to stem the tide, and reverse it. After blunting Hancock's initial drive, and while his men were still rather disorganized, Longstreet launched a flank attack against Hancock's lines, driving the entire corps back to the Brock Road intersection. Hancock managed to reorganize his troops in time to repulse further Confederate assaults.

During the Overland Campaign, due to his trust in the unit and it's commander, the Union II Corps was the spearhead of choice for Grant. While a compliment to the unit's reputation, it also meant that it suffered heavily from this favoritism, just as German stormtroopers did in WWI. The entire corps, including Gibbon's division, continued to accumulate significant casualties at Spotsylvania and Cold Harbor. At Spotsylvania, after a spectacular initial assault, the II Corps became too crowded together in a very small area and lost much cohesion, becoming unable to press the offensive from it's present location. At Cold Harbor, Gibbon's division, among other II Corps units, suffered heavily in the bloody fighting. On June 7th, shortly after this Gibbon was promoted to major general of volunteers for his valuable service during the Overland Campaign. Shortly after, a amazing change of front by General Grant across the James would transfer the fighting to Petersburg.

By the time of Petersburg, the II Corps was something of an exhausted unit, and Gibbon's division, while a good one, was no exception. At the Battle of Second Reams Station, the II Corps was beaten, and Gibbon was upset by the performance of his division. He was promoted to briefly command the XVIII Corps, Army of the James, before going on sick leave. After recovering, he would take command of the newly formed XXIV Corps, Army of the James. Rufus Dawes, his former subordinate, learning of Gibbon's promotion, wrote "His honors are fairly won. He is one of the bravest of men. He was with us on every battle field."

Gibbon's troops led Grant's assault in the Third Battle of Petersburg, 1865, and successfully seized Forts Whitworth and Gregg, helping to shatter the final defensive lines around Petersburg. With this victory, Lee was forced to abandon Petersburg and retreat. At Appomattox, Gibbon's troops were the ones to block Lee's final route of retreat, and Gibbon served as one of the commissioners for the Confederate army's surrender.

Gibbon continued his career in the army after the war, reverting back to regular army rank of Colonel. During the campaign against the Sioux in 1876, Gibbon commanded the troops at Fort Ellis in the Montana territory. Gibbon, Custer, and Major General Crook were to launch a coordinated campaign against the Sioux, but Crook was stalemated at the Battle of the Rosebud, and unable to link up with Custer. Gibbon's command wasn't yet arrived when Custer launched his fateful attack at the Little Bighorn. Gibbon's column, with the overall commander General Alfred H. Terry, arrived the next day, causing the Sioux to retreat from the area.



Gibbon was still commanding troops in Montana the next year, 1877, when he received a telegram from General O.O Howard ordering him into action against the Nez Perce. Gibbon took his command and move to engage the natives at the Big Hole Basin. Gibbon ordered his men to take no prisoners. There would be no negotiations. His men moved in, and after shooting a Nez Perce sentry, charged into the camp. Initially, they seemed victorious, and the Nez Perce seemed on the brink of destruction. However, the lieutenant leading Gibbon's left wing had been shot and killed, and that part of his force had become disorganized, giving the Nez Perce the temporary respite they needed. The battle devolved into a tactical draw, and the Nez Perce slipped away, but only after suffering heavy casualties. General Howard's forces set out in pursuit, and nearly two months later, Nelson Miles' men finished the job at the Bear Paw. Gibbon was promoted to Brigadier General in the regular army, and ended up commanding the Army of the Pacific Northwest. Gibbon died in Baltimore in 1896, and is buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Gibbon commanded many thousands of men during the war, in different commands, from the brigade level to corps command. But it was the veterans of his first command, the Iron Brigade, who paid for a monument to their "Loved Commander" at Arlington.

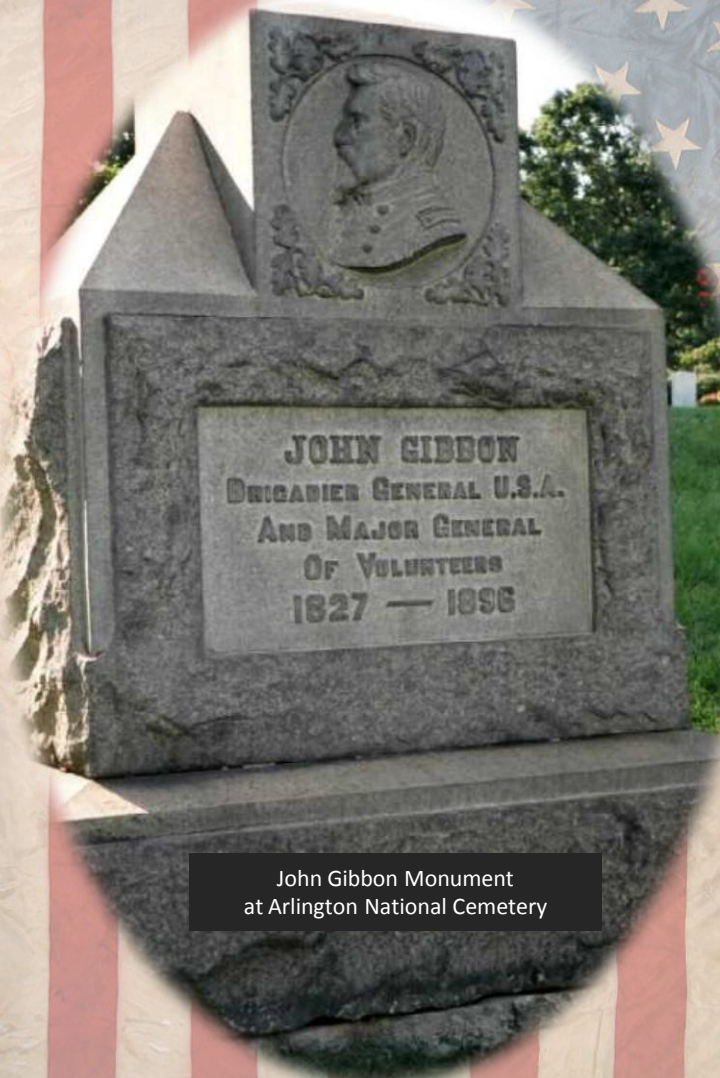


Gibbon was considered deficient in English grammar, having to repeat a year at West Point because of it. He went on to write not only the influential *Artillerist's Manual*, but numerous articles and two books that were published posthumously, about his experiences in the Civil War and on the western frontier. Gibbon was something of a colorful personality as well. The man who commanded the Iron Brigade before him, Rufus King, was considered bland and genial. Gibbon was neither of these things, a man of blunt speech and a keen mind who could out-swear most officers in the Army of the Potomac, excepting Andrew Humphreys (Noted by Charles Dana for being one of the top two most fluent swearers in the army) and possibly his long-time superior officer, Winfield Scott Hancock. He was also an exacting disciplinarian, not a man to lightly offend. Despite this, he was generally well-liked and respected by his men, especially for his immense personal bravery, and popular among his fellow officers. Despite spending a considerable part of his childhood in North Carolina, and having three brothers fight for the Confederacy, he remained loyal to the Union, as did his Kentuckian friend John Buford, another distinguished fighting officer.



As a front-line combat officer, Gibbon may well have had no equal in the Army of the Potomac. He was inspirationally brave, and handled troops very well under fire. He molded the Iron Brigade, the finest fighting brigade in the Army of the Potomac, and did such a good job that his then-green troops stood up to a superior number of Stonewall Jackson's veterans. He was a very effective fighting commander with a division as well, and at Gettysburg, an effective temporary corps commander. His work in positioning the II Corps there shows talent on the defensive, in addition to his undoubted skill as a pugnacious attacker. He didn't really command a corps long enough to win lots of glory, but he was very effective even in that short time. Clearly the lack of political connections for the North Carolinian slowed down his promotions. He earned every one through sheer merit. He's probably the closest analogy the Union had to Patrick Cleburne, if you want to draw that comparison. A very worthy officer and soldier.





John Gibbon Monument  
at Arlington National Cemetery





# Causes of the First Punic War

by Dovakiin

In 264BC the Romans and Carthaginians, arguably the two dominant powers of the Mediterranean went to war. Most, if not all scholars, suggest that the conflict was inevitable with Carthage increasing her influence in the west, controlling western Sicily as well as the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, all within a day's sail to Italy, and Rome expanding her influence over the whole of Italy. This essay explores the causes of a war that would last 23 years and see changes of fortune throughout for both sides. It will begin by discussing the indirect causes, mainly the minor, but wholly overlooked, events that may have well caused tensions between both states, before looking at the events that finally brought the two powers to war.

**The Romans had made contact** with the Carthaginians long before the conflict broke out. Polybius lists three treaties concluded between the two states, the first being made around 508/7BC, '28 years before the crossing of Xerxes into Greece' (3.22.3). Lazenby suggests that this was possibly a renewal of a treaty between Carthage and the Etruscan Kings of Rome who were certainly on friendly terms in the 6th Century (Herodotus, 1.166). The treaty appears to be an attempt to restrict Roman trade with Africa and Sardinia, though not with Carthaginian Sicily, and to protect Rome's interests in Latium. (Lazenby, 1996, 31). A second treaty dated by Livy (7.27.2) and Diodorus (16.69.1), to 348BC, though they both regard this as the first treaty, was signed and implies that Utica was now in the Carthaginian sphere and adds Southern Spain to areas where the Romans were forbidden to trade. Militarily it is likely that the Carthaginians saw Rome as an important ally to counter the influence of Syracuse and Rome may well have seen Syracuse as a potential threat (Miles, 2011, 161). Both Dionysius and Agathocles had displayed ambitions to extend their authority in to Italy and the Romans had beaten off an unwelcome visit by a Sicilian Greek fleet (Diodorus, 15.24.1). The third treaty is the most important in the context of the First Punic War. Livy dates this treaty to 279/8 (Per. 13) and it was concluded when Rome was at war with Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus' campaign into Carthage now united both states behind a common enemy. Polybius' version is somewhat obscure but, while reiterating previous agreements, it was clearly designed to provide for mutual aid if either party was attacked (3.25.2-5).



*Valerius Maximus*

## *First Punic War*

**Each party was to pay** its own forces, though Carthage was to provide the transports for any troop movements by sea, and was to come to Rome's aid with naval forces, if a necessity rose (Polybius, 3.25.1-5). Despite this Rome rejects a fleet of 120 warships sent by Carthage (Justin, 18.2.1-3; Valerius Maximus, 3.7.10), which suggests distrust between the two states, at least on the part of the Romans (Miles, 2011, 165), and Carthage, despite her defeats to Pyrrhus, never asked for help (Lazenby, 1996, 32). As well as this the treaty states that both allies shall enter negotiations with Pyrrhus together to prevent Pyrrhus turning one state against the other. However, the Carthaginians offered Pyrrhus terms in which they proposed a large sum of money and a supply of ships. Though this proposal was rejected it would have surely angered the Romans. Eventually Pyrrhus is defeated by the Romans though the Carthaginians did provide logistical support, on one occasion the Carthaginian fleet transported a force of 500 Romans to Rhegium where they destroyed a stockpile of wood earmarked for building boats for Pyrrhus (Diodorus 22.7.5). As well as this the Carthaginians also defeated Pyrrhus' fleet as it sailed back from Sicily to Italy (Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 2.4.1). So here we can see that over the three centuries before the war Rome and Carthage had been in contact to the point where they were allied against Pyrrhus. This contact would have meant that both states were conscious of the others continuing rise in power, especially on the side of the Carthaginians, and this mind set would have definitely caused both states to view each other with caution. Indeed Carthage's poor showing on land against Pyrrhus would have given Rome confidence that they could at least challenge them on land.

**The first real tensions** between the two states arises when the Carthaginians supposedly break the third treaty by coming to the aid of the Tarentines, whose city of Tarentum was still held by Pyrrhus' lieutenant Mago, and was now under siege by Rome (Livy, Per. 14.). Livy reiterates this event later in his work during a speech by Hanno in 218BC when trying to dissuade the Carthaginians from going to war (21.10.8). The story is also echoed by Cassius Dio (fr. 43), Ampelius (46.2) and Orosius who even claims that the Romans defeated the Carthaginians in a battle. However, Orosius' explanation is very likely fictitious and should be disregarded. Zonaras gives a more plausible account of the Tarentines calling to the Carthaginians for help and the settlement, besieged by the Romans on land and Carthaginians by the sea, was given up by Milo to the Romans (8.6). It is very likely that the Carthaginians came to see if they could help, in accordance with the recent treaty, but the Romans were suspicious since no help had been





requested. Orosius suggests that ambassadors were sent to Carthage to complain, but the Carthaginians simply denied the incident (4.5.2). Despite this episode being sometimes regarded as unhistorical, Lazenby claims there is no good reason to reject it, even though Polybius says nothing about it (Lazenby, 1996, 35). If we choose to accept this then we can see another example of distrust between the two states. The Romans would perhaps be very wary of the Carthaginians interference in Italy especially since their own allies were beginning to call for Carthaginian help instead of relying wholly on Rome.

**Lazenby sums up** the relationship between Rome and Carthage as 'friendly as long as their interests did not seriously clash' (Lazenby 1996, 35) however, as Roman influence expanded, particularly to the southern end of the peninsula, the two states seem to be on a collision course. Roman troops in Rhegium were less than ten miles from the shores of Sicily, an island that many senators may be now casting their greedy eyes for expansion. Indeed William Harris claims a number of Rome's actions in the next ten years were taken with this in mind. In 273 Latin colonies at Cosa and Paestum were designed to protect the coast which Harris suggests were founded in part to strengthen Rome's position in a possible war with Carthage (Harris, 1981, 183). As well as this the Romans seized forest land from the Bruttians, land which Dionysius comments at length on its outstanding value for ship construction (DH 20.15). At the same time diplomatic relations were set up with Ptolemy II Philadelphus, ruler of Egypt, and a man who would also be wary of Carthage as their neighbour (Livy, Per, 14.6.). This possibly suggests that Rome was looking for new allies, perhaps with the idea of jettisoning its relationship with Carthage (Miles, 2011, 166). Though it is plausible that these designs were aggressive in intent on the Roman's side this seems mere speculation based on hindsight. I tend to side with Miles' comments that these events had more to do with Rome's growing concerns of a maritime defence, especially as the capture of Magna Graecia had greatly increased the amount of Tyrrhenian coastline under its control (Miles, 2011, 166). The arrival of a Carthaginian fleet during the siege of Tarentum would have made the Romans somewhat fearful of the Carthaginians and this show of power by the Carthaginians could possibly see Rome's allies turn away from the Romans and towards Carthage in the future (c.f Lazenby, 1996, 38-9). Not only this but the settlement of coastal areas would have greatly enhanced Rome's trading power and the treaty with Philadelphus may well have been made more with opening more trade routes in the East than a military alliance. The fact that the Egyptians did not intervene in the war, apart from rejecting a Carthaginian request for 2000 talents, suggests that a war with Carthage was far from the mind of the Egyptians who Appian claims were on terms of friendship with both (Appian, Wars in Sicily, 1).

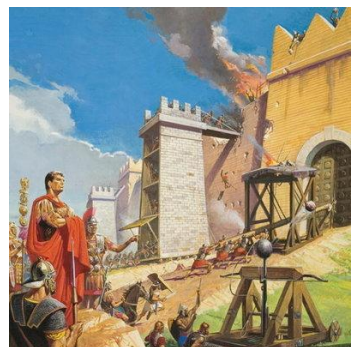
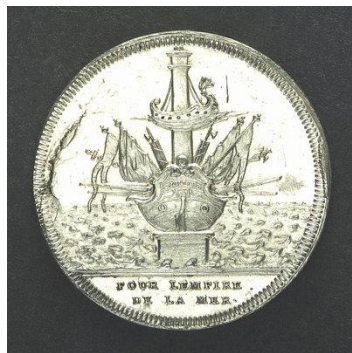


*Ptolemy II Philadelphus*

Miles also suggests a Campanian conspiracy where some modern scholars believe that there a certain group of Campanians in Rome that wanted to start a war between the two states in order to control the flow of goods, especially wine and fine black-glaze pottery, into Punic Sicily and North Africa, though it is unlikely that any significant grouping in either Carthage or Rome actively sought war with each other (Miles, 2011, 166).

**Another interesting proposition** for the causes of the First Punic War is that the Romans were beginning to associate themselves more with the Greeks. They claimed their founding was linked to Aeneas and Odysseus. As well as this they accepted the cult of Hercules in 399BC. The Romans never saw themselves as Greek but they had begun to view themselves as inhabiting the same side of the Greek-authored ethno-cultural divide that separated the civilised Hellenic world from the barbarian world, and Carthage fell into this barbarian category. Though this is not a major reason, it would have certainly made the Roman elite more susceptible to Sicilian Greek stereotyping of Carthage as an aggressive and acquisitive power (Miles 2011, 167-170).

**All these events could be** seen as the indirect causes of the conflict, however there has to be something that brings the two powers to war. This came in the form of Messina in the North East of Sicily. In the 280s BC Messina had been seized by Campanian mercenaries who had previously served under Agathocles, ruler of Syracuse from 317 to 289BC (Polybius 1.7; Lazenby, 1996, 35). During this time a garrison of 4,000 men under the command of Decius was sent by Rome to protect the city of Rhegium who feared not only an attack by Pyrrhus, but also an invasion by the Carthaginians. However, after becoming infatuated with the place, they allied with the Campanians in Messina and, just like the mercenaries previously, they took control of the city. Though Rome was initially embroiled in other wars at the time of the incident, once they were able they laid siege to Rhegium, took the city and scourged and beheaded the traitorous men (Polybius, 1.7). Now that the Mamertines, which they named themselves, were without its allies from Rhegium it became under attack by the Syracusans, being defeated at the River Longanus and its leaders captured (Polybius 1.9). Diodorus claims that the Mamertines were ready to surrender to Syracuse however, Hannibal, who was based at the Lipari Islands, heard of the battle at Longanus, approached Hiero in an attempt to halt any further action by him and installed a Carthaginian garrison at Messina. Seeing this, Hiero departed for Syracuse (22.13.7). Soon after the Mamertines also appealed to Rome, why they did this is unclear. Possibly they were unhappy at a Carthaginian garrison and appealed to Rome as a 'kindred people' (Polybius, 1.10; Zonaras, 8.8). They could have also seen the alliance between Carthage and Rome during the war with Pyrrhus as a reason why they could call in both states to help them. Despite this the potential for a clash between Rome and Carthage was now clearly there (Lazenby, 1996, 37).



the Romans were undecided about whether they should send help to the Mamertines or not. On the one hand it would be very hypocritical of them to lend a hand to the Mamertines when they had recently punished their own men at Rhegium for committing a similar crime. On the other, it would provide Rome with a chance to gain a foothold in Sicily. However, if Polybius is to be believed then it seems that it was only until after the siege of Agrigentum in 261BC that the Romans decided to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily (20.1-2; Lazenby, 1996, 42). Another argument for assisting the Mamertines would be that they would prevent the Carthaginians extending their influence on the island. Indeed controlling Messina would give the Carthaginians an easy route to Italy (Goldsworthy, 2006, 68) and Polybius states that the Romans feared being surrounded by the Carthaginians if they were to control Sicily (1.10). It seems an exaggeration to say that the Romans would be surrounded and that Carthage presented a serious threat, but with the intervention at Tarentum still fresh in their minds they may well have cause to fear the Carthaginians, a fear which the Mamertines would have played upon. \*\* Also the fact that Rhegium feared a Carthaginian invasion would have also given the Romans cause for concern. On the part of the Carthaginians controlling Messina, as mentioned, would have given them much more control of Sicily, an island that they had imperialistic ambitions to gain for a long time. It would have been a strong city to control especially during their ongoing struggle with Syracuse. However, to say they would have had designs against Italy would be pure speculation, but lack of Carthaginian sources gives us little to go by when analysing the Carthaginian mind set at this point. Despite a lengthy debate the Senate did not approve the proposal to help Messina due to the inconsistency of helping the Mamertines but fighting the Romans at Rhegium. However, the consuls spoke to the people who stressed the national advantages if Rome intervened as well as highlighting the great gains from the spoils of war. These arguments were met with general approval by the people and so help was sent to Messina (Polybius 1.11). It is very possible that Appius Claudius Caudex was the driving force behind persuading the people to go to war as it would have given him the opportunity to gain the glory that all senators craved. Being the man that would lead the first expedition would have made this particularly attractive (Goldsworthy 2006, 68-9). Goldsworthy also states that the wealthier citizens would have benefitted from receiving the state contracts to supply and equip the army or from handling the massed sale of slaves during the war (Goldsworthy, 69). It is here that we can see the 'imperialistic' ideas that were set in Rome. The idea of riches gained excited the people and the consuls were motivated by the chance of glory. However, Goldsworthy's point about the benefit to wealthier citizens can be a bit dubious given that the Senate actually voted against sending help. The senate would have been made up of the wealthier citizens and the rejection of the appeal suggests that they were not all influenced by the prospect of wealth.

Though it seems that Roman actions got the ball rolling for a war with Carthage, it was actually the Carthaginians who were the first to be aggressive, attacking Appius Claudius as he crossed the straits of Messina (Zonaras, 8; Diodorus, 23.1.2). It was also the Carthaginians that besieged Messina culminating in the first land battle of the war, along with Hiero who also did not want the Romans in Sicily, (Polybius, 1.11) possibly due to the fact that he had enough problems with the Carthaginians. Though the fact there were delegations sent to find an alternative to war, all returned disappointed and in this case we can say that the inability of Rome, Carthage and Syracuse to come to an agreement was the final nail in the coffin. In a way it was the Romans decision to help the Mamertines that now set the two states on the inevitable path to war. It seems that a conflict had been slowly brewing for a while with the Romans becoming more suspicious of Carthaginian activity on the coast of Italy, but the popular opinion suggests that Roman fear and the lure of riches and glory sent the Romans to Sicily. However, all in all it does seem that the growth of both powers towards each other made a war inevitable. Perhaps the Western Mediterranean was not big enough for the both of them

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Thank you for reading. If you made it this far you have my upmost gratitude and I hope you enjoyed it. Please feel free to leave a comment, I would love to hear what you guys think about the First Punic War .

# German Heavy Cruiser **BLÜCHER**



Oscarsborg April 9<sup>th</sup>1940 – heavy cruiser *Blücher* – sunk on sight!

When my father took me and my elder brother on fishing trips in his old slow-moving motor boat we often passed a point in the Oslofjord that had a special significance to him. I am not really sure why this was so – maybe because he was an old sailor? We would get there in about two hours time after casting off from the marina at Bygdøy outside Oslo. When we passed this point he always became thoughtful and glanced down in the deep - down at the remnants of the German Kriegsmarine ship Blücher – 65 meters below the surface.

Sometimes we made a weekend of it and cruised further down to where the fjord opened up, my father knew of a place there with plenty of mackerel . On those occasions, as we passed the fortress, my brother and I had to endure the story of *Moses*, one of the guns in main battery on Oscarsborg Fortress. When it arrived on a ship to Oslo in 1892 it fell into the water during reloading to a barge which was to take it down to Oscarsborg - hence its name. The name was created by the

Norwegian public and not to be unfair to the two other guns they were also given names - *Aron* and *Josva*. Officially, they were named no. 1, 2 and 3. My grandfather, a helmet diver in the Swedish Navy, was sent to Norway to help get it out of the water. So, one may say there is a certain affinity between me and *Moses*. The heavy cruiser *Blücher* was the main element in German Assault Group 5 planned to invade Norway in the early morning of April 9<sup>th</sup> 1940. Group 5 had the important mission of invading Oslo, in the inner part of Oslofjord, hopefully capturing the Norwegian leadership and its administration in one bold operation. The push up the fjord was coordinated with an airborne assault on Fornebu airport outside the capital.

In company with *Blücher* were *Lutzw*, also a heavy cruiser, and the light cruiser *Emden* in addition to some smaller units. Among them the torpedo-boats, light destroyers, really – *Albatros*, *Kondor* and *Möwe* and 8 in-shore minesweepers – R-boats.

At the same time other groups sailed in through other Norwegian fjords and along the coastline to Kristiansand, Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim and Narvik. Bergen, Trondheim and Narvik were all occupied within a few hours, Kristiansand and later during the day an airfield outside Stavanger was taken in an airborne assault. Initial German losses were relatively light on each of these places. In Oslofjord it was different.

Norway was a neutral country and its somewhat naïve politicians, led by Labour Party Prime Minister Johan Nygaardsvold, believed the major powers would respect this. As a matter of fact the Norwegian defense organization wasn't that bad. The Army had 118,000 men in the rolls but with insufficient budgets over many years its efficiency had been allowed to stoop. There had been little renewal of obsolete equipment, recruit training had been gradually shortened and exercises in larger formations had been non-existent for a long period. The Navy and the Army Air corps suffered particularly from this lack of modernization but were better off in manning. Worst of all was the reluctance to man what little coast defense installations existed when the danger signals began to show themselves. The general result is known and in spite of the politicians' guilt in the wrecking of the Norwegian defense and unwillingness to call up forces before and when the war started they have used this result as a justification for their opinion that "it was of no use". From this point of view it is a little strange that they at all decided to fight.

For many months after the outbreak of the war in September 1939 the Allies, Britain and France, had pondered how to get a foothold in Scandinavia so that they could strangle the supplies of Swedish iron ore to Germany. In winter the ore was sent from Sweden by railway to the port of Narvik in Northern Norway, from there with ship along the long Norwegian coast. Much of the route passed through the inner leads where it was protected by the Norwegian neutrality, outside the reach of the Royal Navy. The reason behind this intricate transport route was the fact that the Baltics froze over during winter. In summer, however, stored stocks built-up through the winter could be shipped along this much shorter route to Germany. So, to stop this traffic completely the Allies needed to get at the mines proper in the Kiruna area in Northern Sweden. During the Soviet-Finnish Winter War 1939/40 the Allies tried to use this opportunity to get transit rights for their military through Norway and Sweden under the pretext of yielding military assistance to the Finns in their struggle against their powerful neighbor. In time it has come to light that the Allies' intention was mainly to provoke a German assault to broaden the war and achieve a diversion from the French-German front. Churchill, the British minister of Navy, and the French were particularly interested in this policy while the British Prime Minister Chamberlain opposed it. With all the publicity made on such allied plans and the Norwegian lack of ability to show a firm stance as a neutral state, Hitler decided to get ahead of the Allies and invade Norway. To secure the supply lines to the north he also saw it necessary to occupy Denmark.

28 cm gun at  
Oscarsborg Fortress





The speed and efficiency of the German advance into Norwegian waters took the British by complete surprise. They had expected a German reaction on their planned mining of Norwegian waters on April 8<sup>th</sup> but nothing like this.

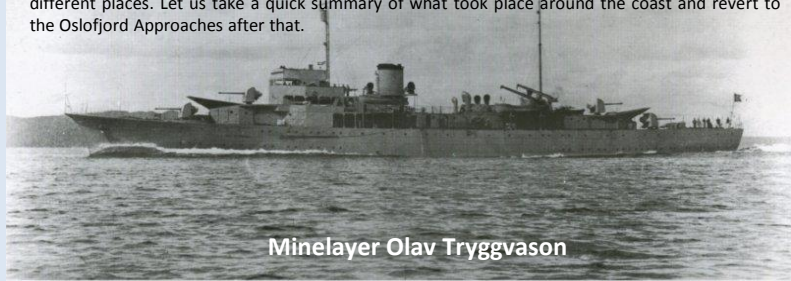
Everywhere the Germans were ahead of them. That the Allies were not serious in their intentions to engage themselves in Scandinavia, or to help the Norwegians as promised, is shown by the weak forces they had made ready for the purpose.

The bitter Norwegian pill when analyzing the actual initial fighting in the Norwegian approaches is, however, that so much more could have been achieved with just a little more of efforts. Men and equipment that was available. But also much

clearer Rules of Engagement for Norway's fighting men. Most of the important Norwegian fjords had its defenses but in general only about a third of the personnel had been called up. This went both for personnel serving the actual fortress weapons but also those for close-in defense. In addition to this the extensive minefields were not activated. Coupled with often unclear and half-hearted instructions to the military personnel's questions: "... if they come shall we fire at the Germans or the British – or both? Or at all"? These insecurities resulted in different decisions at different places. Let us take a quick summary of what took place around the coast and revert to the Oslofjord Approaches after that.



Karte\_Oscarsborg



Minelayer Olav Tryggvason



In Kristians and the first German naval advance on the city was turned back by the local fortress. Only in the afternoon were some German vessels able to bluff their way into the port by, some say, using the French flag and a vacillating Norwegian leadership. As soon as the German infantry was put ashore by small boats the fortress was attacked from the land side. The defense here was weak and the fortress surrendered. The light cruiser *Karlsruhe* was sunk by a British submarine when returning to Germany after having put her infantry complement ashore. Mining was not in effect and all guns were not manned. The close-in defense of the fortress was weaker than what it should have been.

In Stavanger there were no fortifications as such but the main defense of the port, a light destroyer, was sunk by a Stuka dive bomber after it had sunk a German ship with supplies to the paratroopers that had taken the airport while jumping into the fire of a Norwegian machine gun platoon. Many of the paras were killed or wounded but the airfield defense was quickly overwhelmed.

In Bergen the forts along the long sea approach to the city were also sparsely manned. There was old ammunition and several guns malfunctioned. Nevertheless, the light cruiser *Königsberg* was damaged to the extent that it had to be lashed to the pier when it arrived in Bergen. The next day it was sunk on site by British Fleet Air Arm Skua dive bombers flying at the end of their range from bases in Scotland. As soon as the Germans were inside the outer defenses soldiers were put ashore and took the forts from the landside. Within the day Bergen was in German hands. Mining was not in effect but a Norwegian minelayer had been zigzagging ahead of the German naval force in the dark, dropping mines in its path. Unfortunately, the timed fuses were not set for immediate arming. Several German ships were blown up by these mines in the following days but that made no difference to the immediate German success.

In the narrow outer approaches to Trondheim there were forts on both sides. The commander had been warned of the approach of a naval force by a guard ship further out. It was the heavy cruiser *Hipper* and the pocket battleship *Scheer*. Only a few rounds had been fired from the heavy guns of the fortress on the southern side of the entrance when a lucky shell from one of the enemy ships hit the main electrical cable supplying the lights and communication systems on the fortress. It was put out of action and the German ships proceeded at high speed in the fjord to Trondheim. No mining was in effect.

The Germans believed there were coastal defense installations in the Narvik approaches. Only after having sent a party ashore before entering were they informed by a local that no such existed. They had once been planned but construction was never started for budget reasons. Outside the port, however, were the main assets of the Norwegian Navy, the two 40-year old coastal armored ships *Eidsvold* and *Norge*. They were ready to fight but foolishly enough their commander accepted negotiations with a representative from the German destroyer force that suddenly appeared through the snow-showers. When the German officer, after having been rejected by the Norwegian commander left *Norge* in his sloop to go back to his own ship, he fired a signal flare. Immediately torpedoes were fired from the German destroyers and the still-lying Norwegian ships rolled over and sank in minutes.

These incidences explain the essential weaknesses in the initial Norwegian defense. There were warnings, there were weapons, there were men, but lacking clear instructions from the politicians even what little was available of military means could not be used to its best advantage. Considering this and the fact that more was available which was not allowed to be put to its proper use the German invasion attempt can only be called hazardous. On the larger scale they *did suffer* quite large losses in materiel, mainly ships, if not in personnel. But, this had more importance for the later part of the war than to what happened in Norway in 1940. The happenings in and around Oslofjord had all these ingredients, and more!

I won't go more into the story leading up to the invasion, only to repeat that the military leadership asked for higher defense readiness, the mobilizing of army units, full manning of the coastal fortresses and preparation of minefields. After all, these would be placed inside Norwegian territory and should not provoke anybody. On the contrary they would show that Norway took its responsibility as a neutral seriously. Already from April 5<sup>th</sup> the Chief of Staff to the Commanding General, Colonel Liljedahl, daily pressed for full mobilization of the Army, but to no avail. On April 8<sup>th</sup> a message was sent to all military district commands that the Government did not want to decide on this until the next day - April 9<sup>th</sup>. However, much preparation was done locally, what weapons could be manned were manned, ammunition was brought forth to the guns, officers and men were armed.



*Blücher  
On Its Way  
To Norway*

The Germans had a relatively good knowledge of the Norwegian defense system in general but failed in their analysis of the Norwegians' reaction to their planned invasion "*...to protect Norway from the British..*". As could be expected the defense of the capital's approach, the Oslofjord, had been given particular attention historically. This work had started in earnest in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and during the 1850's Oscarsborg Fortress was modernized and named after the king of Sweden and Norway, Oscar I. At that time it was judged one of the most powerful fortresses in Europe. It was built on two islands, one larger than the other on a south-north line, in the middle of the narrowest part of the fjord. The main battery was placed on the Southern side and the Western passage up the fjord was blocked by an underwater wall – a jetty, forcing ships of any size to pass on the Eastern side, under the guns between the fortress and Drøbak, a small community on the Eastern side. As the Norwegian elite started its struggle to free itself of the enforced union with Sweden Oscarsborg was modernized again and expanded. New gun positions were built and three 28 cm. guns ordered from Krupp in Germany. A 15 cm. battery was installed on the top of the hill on the Eastern side of the fjord, north of Drøbak, and some smaller-caliber batteries down by the sea on both sides as a part of the close-in defense of the fortress. Even a land-based torpedo battery was constructed on the northernmost island. This smaller island was connected to the main island with a bridge. Oscarsborg Fortress was the inner core of Oslofjord Fortress, a conglomerate of forts positioned on both sides of the wider part of the fjord. In this defense area were bases for guard ships and a submarine and light destroyer flotilla. Just before the fjord narrowed lay the Navy's main base, Horten, on the Western side. Plans and equipment for a mine barrage was available but it had not been activated.

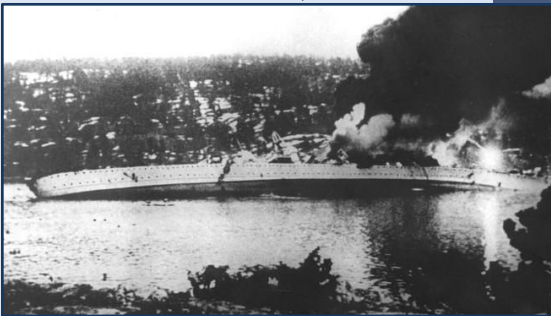
The Norwegian Navy was probably the branch with the highest readiness at the time, but also with the most obsolete equipment. The first contact between the Norwegian and German navies occurred already before midnight 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> of April. The guard ship *POL III*, a former 200 tons whaler only armed with a 76 mm gun, patrolled the outer guard line. Kaptein Welding-Olsen's orders were to stop any warships of the warring nations. Just after 2300 his lookout reported two long, darkened vessels steaming up the fjord. Full speed ahead was ordered and a radio message immediately dispatched to the Naval District Command. A warning shot was fired. Suddenly a third shadow appeared on *POL III*'s starboard side – it was *Albatros*, a light German destroyer. Before avoiding maneuvers could be executed *POL III* hit *Albatros*'s port side, creating a gaping hole. As the guard ship slid backward again, separating from *Albatros*, warning flares were fired, one white and two red, to warn the inner defenses. *POL III* went forward again, lining up alongside *Albatros*. A German officer shouted, demanding the Norwegian ship to surrender, but Welding- Olsen refused. At once fire was opened on *POL III* with machine guns. The ship was swept fore to aft, fires were started. Welding-Olsen was hit. Bleeding heavily, he ordered abandon ship. During the evacuation the lifeboat sank and Welding-Olsen disappeared in the waves. He was the first Norwegian killed in action during the German invasion of Norway. The rest of the Norwegian crew was taken onboard *Albatros*. It thereafter sunk the guard ship with its 10 cm. guns.



*Blücher* Seen From Emden



Bundesarchiv DVM 10 Bild-23-63-09, Kreuzer - *Blücher*



German cruiser *Blücher* sinking

The Norwegians had been warned. The next hinder to pass for the Germans were Rauøy and Bolårne forts, one on each side of the approaches. The signal flares fired by *POL III* had been observed at 2315. However, due to a slight haze the light projectors of the fortresses were not able to light up the enemy flotilla properly. After a warning shot and a few live rounds had been fired from Rauøy Fort the fog crept in between the fortress and its targets, contact was lost. Also Bolårne Fort lost valuable time by firing warning rounds as the neutrality instructions prescribed. Soon the ships were lost to them, too. As the German main force continued northwards several R-boats with infantry were detached to occupy the coastal batteries. There were skirmishes with other Norwegian guard ships and a Norwegian submarine was forced to surface and surrender. But these events had little influence on the main events taking place farther north.

Horten, the main Norwegian naval base, was an important object for the Germans and the light destroyers *Albatros* and *Kondor* with two R-boats were detached for this purpose. Onboard were 90 infantry soldiers. Here the Germans should meet the first serious resistance by the Norwegians. In the harbor were the minesweeper *Rauma* and the modern minelayer *Olav Tryggvason*. None were fully crewed, many men were on leave and the commanders distributed their crews as best they could. Of four chief gunners on *Olav Tryggvason* only one was onboard but this dedicated minelayer of 4.000 tons displacement was one of the most modern ships in the Norwegian Navy, launched in 1932. It had a double propulsion set, both steam and diesels, and performed a secondary role as a cadet and artillery training ship. Its fire control system was the best of the time and its 4 x 12 cm. guns could be aimed and fired centrally. It was built at the naval yard in Horten.

When two German vessels slowly slid through the entrance to the inner harbor they were difficult to recognize. Only when the first passed 60 meters ahead of *Olav Tryggvason* did Captain Briseid recognize the Kriegsmarine war flag. As per instructions a blank warning shot was fired, after that two live rounds. As the R-boats increased speed *R17* was quickly set ablaze but sank only after it had put its infantry ashore. *R27* tried to escape in a north-westerly direction chased by *Rauma*. A lively exchange of fire followed. *Rauma* was peppered by 20 mm salvos from *R27* and its CO, Lt. Winsnes, was mortally wounded - the first officer received a wound in the head, too, only four of the crew was not wounded in some way. *R27* went aground and rolled over on its side and the crew was able to save itself ashore. In the meantime *Olav Tryggvason* had cast off and proceeded out to sea. On the outside it found the *Albatros* and *Kondor*. After hitting *Albatros* with his second salvo Briseid withdrew into the harbor again. At that time *R27* had come clear and tried to escape. It was hit by a 12 cm. shell and sank a little later. The German destroyers then tried to enter the port but were driven off by *Olav Tryggvason*. *Albatross* grounded itself on April 10<sup>th</sup> - a total loss. *POL III* had been revenged. The light cruiser *Emden* farther out in the fjord was also hit by shells from the Norwegian minelayer. The following events in Horten was an anticlimax. As on several occasions in those days the German commander that had barely got ashore with some of his men was able to bluff the local Norwegian commander to surrender by threats of a naval bombardment from the sea and bombing of the city. The German main force continued on its way up the fjord.

In the lead was *Blücher*. This was a modern warship launched in June 1937. Only just recently ready for service it had a displacement of 16.000-18.000 tons and a crew of almost 1.400. *Blücher's* primary armament was eight [20.3 cm \(8.0 in.\) SK L/60](#) guns mounted in four twin [gun turrets](#), placed in [super-firing pairs](#) forward and aft. Her anti-aircraft battery consisted of twelve 10.5 cm (4.1 in) L/65 guns, twelve 3.7 cm (1.5 in) guns, and eight 2 cm (0.79 in) guns. It had four triple 53.3 cm (21.0 in) torpedo launchers, all on the main deck next to the four FLAK rangefinders. The ship could carry three seaplanes with one catapult.

It was also the flagship of Konteradmiral Kummetz. With him on *Blücher* and the ships following him were 2.000 soldiers from the 163<sup>rd</sup> Infantry division and General Falkenhorst's second-in-command, Major-General Engelbrecht. He was to have command until Falkenhorst arrived later. There were also other key personnel onboard: General Zahle, Obersturmbannführer Rössler and dr. Meyer. The last one was to take over the Norwegian Broadcasting's transmitter in Oslo. A complete military marching band and a parade company rounded it all off. Their mission was to march up to the Royal Castle in Oslo upon arrival, to entertain the King with German marches during his breakfast. Their instruments are resting on the bottom of the fjord. Admiral Kummetz was under the impression that Oscarsborg was demobilized and out of service, a remarkable lack of intelligence on the German side. When *Blücher* was flooded by a powerful light projector on the top of a floating crane in Dröbak port, without any fire coming from the fortress, he thought he had it made and looked forward to a free passage in to Oslo.

Commanding officer of Oscarsborg Fortress was Colonel Birger C. Eriksen. He had served there as a young officer during the mobilization period in 1905 when the Union with Sweden was dissolved. He had received constant updates on the progress of the approaching naval force. It was still not known which nationality it was but it was obvious that no warning shots should be fired. After a government meeting 0200 the same night it was clarified which nation the intruder was but this information was not sent on to the military districts. Like all the coastal force installations in Norway there was a lack of personnel here, too. Even worse, the crews had been rotated on April 2<sup>nd</sup> so most of them were quite unfamiliar with the mission at hand. To remedy this Eriksen dispersed the cadets of the Coast Artillery NCO School at Oscarsborg to the various batteries. He could only man two of the main battery guns, *Moses* and *Aron*, and it was obvious that none of them would be able to fire more than one round each due to the untrained crews and the slow loading progress of the large guns. They were 55 years old. The colonel positioned himself between the guns to personally take responsibility for the opening of fire. At 0416 the observation post in the ship's crane in Dröbak signalled: "...five ships, one large in the point and four following..."



Birger Kristian Eriksen

On the northern island, Nordre Kaholmen, the torpedo battery was readied. The battery commander was on sick leave so Eriksen called up kommandörkaptein Anderssen. This was a retired officer living in Dröbak, just across the fjord. The last time he had served as torpedo battery commander was in 1928. With him he had lieutenant Karlsen, torpedo specialist Bexrud and eight privates. When the torpedo battery was constructed around the change of the century it was a very modern installation. It had three underwater firing shacks in which the torpedoes were lowered down in special crates, two torpedoes in each. These could be aimed sideways + 12 degrees. The torpedo engines were started under water and left the shacks by their own power but the torpedoes in use had been fired more than 200 times for training purposes. The Germans should know that the Norwegians had the torpedo technology well in hand as they bought a number of Horten-produced torpedoes before the war for the He59 and He115 of their Küstenflieger squadrons. It was a similar battery in the Bergen Approaches but it never came to use.

Moses and Aron were loaded with 345 kg. explosive shells. As *Blücher* came into view the old guns started to track it. There are different stories on what happened just before fire was opened, that the rangefinder failed just before fire opening and that the range was given as 3.000 meters, which Eriksen did not accept. He calculated the range after reference points known to him. At 0421 the order to open fire was given, the range set to 1.400 meters. This was also the signal for fire to all the other batteries as well. The effect in the target was extraordinary! The first round from the 28 cm. guns hit *Blücher* just under the bridge and destroyed the fire control center. The second round hit further aft, in the area of the aircraft hangar and ignited the aviation fuel. The fire spread though bombs, infantry ammunition and hand grenades stored on deck and the electrical central was damaged. *Blücher* responded with all guns in local command but with very little effect as they could not separate the enemy fire from their own shell impacts. And the enemy fire was overwhelming. *Blücher* was soon a burning wreck drifting northwards past the fortress. Thirteen 15 cm. and thirty 57 mm shells hit it before it was out of the fire zone. Soon it drifted into the sights of the torpedo battery. Anderssen and his crew were ready. There was great excitement whether the old equipment would work.

Kommandörkaptein Anderssen had good information on the number of ships coming up the fjord and had his nine available torpedoes readied for 5 salvoes, two for each of the four first ships and one for the last.

Anderssen writes:

"...I pushed the firing key and to my great satisfaction I heard the torpedo zoom out of its cradle. It was adjusted for three meters depth, the range was 500 meters. It was a terrible and impressive sight to see the burning ship slowly slide by. I wasted only a short moment on the reflection, the sight had to be prepared for another shot. A couple of more seconds, the ship is in the sight again. It passed on like in a dream. The firing key is pressed once more...."

The first round hit in the fore, the second midship. They set off a chain of explosions which only seemed to increase with time. At 0530 the ammo chamber of the 10.5 cm. guns blew up. Thirty minutes later abandon ship was ordered. As more and more of the sailors and soldiers jumped into the sea Anderssen and his men at the torpedo battery could hear a choir of increasing level from the desperate men in the burning sea: "*...Deutschland, Deutschlandüberalles, überalles in der Welt....*". Only then did they learn the nationality of the ship they had sunk. It is believed that 1.000 soldiers and sailors went down with *Blücher*. 1.400 came ashore in various conditions. Many Norwegian fishermen living along the fjord reacted instinctively to the call of distress and rowed out to save the many Germans in the water. Others were taken care of on local farms until further assistance reached the area. For a time many were held prisoners by an arriving Royal Guards company but as the situation developed this company left again.

Admiral Kummetz and General Engelbrecht survived the ordeal but the ship's captain, Wolldag, died from his wounds on April 14<sup>th</sup>.

For the fortress the fight continued. The fire from the various batteries was belayed to the next ship in the line, the cruiser *Lützow*. It soon received three 15 cm. hits and the forward 28 cm. turret was put out of action. Under the impression that *Blücher* had been incapacitated by mines *Lützow's* commander, Thiele, pulled back. The other German ships followed suit. In the morning infantry was landed from the accompanying R-boats and *Lützow* and during the day contact was made with other German army units, among them those landed at Fornebu airport. The area around the Norwegian capital was soon under German control.





-- Moses Today --

Now followed the German retribution. From 0800 German bombers started attacking the fortress, at one time 42 aircraft were counted in the air. The fortress crew took cover in the deep tunnels. During these bombings the anti-aircraft battery at Seiersten was in constant action until 1200 with two 40 mm. Bofors guns and Colt machine guns manned by officers. Several aircraft were damaged and had to make emergency landings but soon low-level strafing forced the Norwegian soldiers to take cover in the forest.

After its withdrawal *Lutzw* opened fire again at a distance of 17.000 meters. For people observing the bombing and shelling of the fortress it looked as if no one could survive it. Actually, not one man was even wounded by the combined bombardment even if it was a heavy burden on the morale. Under the impression of other events the fortress was surrendered 0900 on the 10<sup>th</sup>.

The resistance of Oscarsborg Fortress proved to be of great importance to Norway. Due to it the Parliament, Government and the Royal Family was able to flee the capital to organize the principal questions of the nearest future. The German supply flow was delayed to give the slowly mobilizing Norwegian army units more time to get in order. Both Colonel Eriksen and Kommandörkaptein Anderssen were awarded the St.Olav Medal with oak leaves for their efforts, but only after Colonel Eriksen had been put through a court martial.

Today Oscarsborg Fortress is a museum, hotel and conference center and its guest marina is a popular weekend destination for local small-boat owners. During the summer there are open-air concerts. It's well worth a visit.



# Obituaries as HISTORY

## W. B. Yeats Dead; Famous Irish Poet

Wireless to The New York Times

January 30, 1939

NICE, France, Jan. 29.--The death of William Butler Yeats, famous Irish poet and playwright, occurred yesterday near Mentone. Mr. Yeats, who won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1923, was 73 years old.

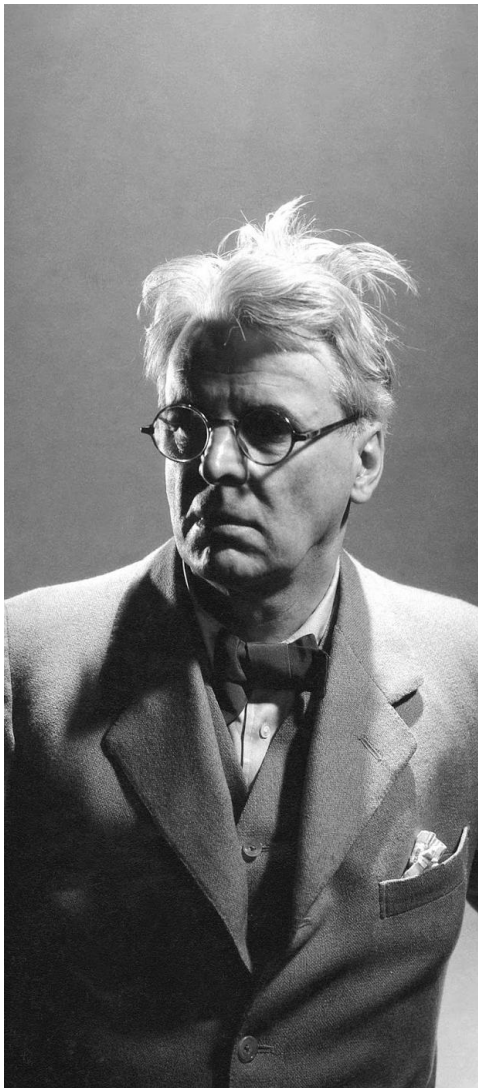
MENTONE, France, Jan. 29 (AP).--Mr. Yeats died in the little French Riviera town of Roquebrune, after a short illness, at a boarding house where he and his wife had been staying.

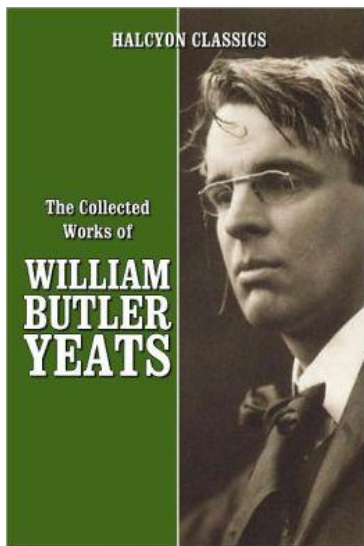
He will be buried tomorrow at Roquebrune. It was expected, however, that eventually the poet's body would be removed to his native Ireland.

Mr. Yeats arrived in Roquebrune early last month in ill health. He suffered repeated heart attacks, and was able to take only short walks in the gardens of the house where he stayed. He had been confined to his bed since Tuesday.

**Wrote Poems, Essays, and Plays** When he labored at his chosen craft, that of writing poetry, essays and plays, Mr. Yeats frequently let his mind roam far afield in the realm of fancy, and it is for the gentle beauty of such works that he was hailed by many as the greatest poet of his time in the English language.

Yeats found time to crusade for worldly ends, but there his tactics were notable for tenacity and vigor. At the turn of the century he shared in the establishment of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, and for ten years devoted himself almost exclusively to drama. The struggle of the Irish Free State likewise occupied his time. From 1922 until 1928 he was a Senator in the Dail Eireann.





John Masefield, poet laureate of England, on the occasion of Yeats's seventieth birthday in June, 1935, called him "the greatest living poet," and unquestionably it will be for his verse that posterity will remember him. The high point in a life full with recognition came in 1923, when Yeats received the Nobel Prize for literature.

Nearly fifty years ago he published his first verse in the Dublin University Review. The flow of words exhibited in that early composition indicated Yeats' natural command of language. Thus, he wrote:

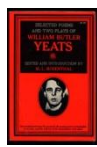
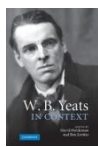
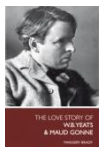
I passed a little further on and heard a peacock say:

Who made the grass and made the worms and made my feathers gay?  
He is a monstrous peacock, and he waveth all the night  
His languid tail above us,  
lit with myriad spots of light.

**Went to School in London** Yeats was born at Sandymount, near Dublin, on June 13, 1865, son of John Butler Yeats, well-known Irish painter. When 10 years old he was taken to London for training at the Godolphin School in Hammersmith, but much of his time, especially during the Summers, was spent in County Sligo, Ireland.

Three years directed to the study of painting failed to satisfy the young man's desire to express himself and, in 1886, he finally abandoned his father's profession in preference for a literary one of his own.

Yeats returned to London, where he associated with William Morris, W. E. Henley, Arthur Symonds and Lionel Johnson in the founding of the Rhymers Club and the maintenance of the Yellow Book. Oscar Wilde interested him, as did Verlaine, whom Yeats visited in Paris in 1894. George Moore, his opponent in many a literary battle, wrote of him at this period: "Yeats was striding to and fro at the back of the dress circle, a long black cloak drooping from his shoulders, a soft black sombrero on his head, voluminous black silk tie flowing from his collar, loose black trousers dragging untidily over his long, heavy feet. His hair was black and his skin yellow."



It has been said his laughter was "the most melancholy thing in the world." Throughout a lifetime half in dreamy composition and half in the thick of political warfare Yeats retained a "hieratic" appearance.

While yet in his twenties the Irish poet dwelt on the possibility of rejuvenating the intellectual life of his native land. Its energies had been sapped by politics. An Irish drama was the farthest from the thoughts of living Irishmen. But Yeats dreamed on, faithfully holding to the hope of writing Irish plays in verse with Irish folklore as subject-material and natives of Ireland sharing as actors and audience.

**Active in Abbey Theatre** Lady Gregory and others answered his prayer for the organization of a national theatre in Dublin. With the opening of the Abbey Theatre, Yeats found opportunity to fulfill his passion for dramatic writing. Already he had written "The Land of Heart's Desire" and "The Countess Cathleen." Important plays by him include: "Kathleen ni Houlihan," "The Pot of Broth," "The Hour Glass," "Deirdre," "The King's Threshold," "The Shadowy Waters," "On Baile's Stand," "The Green Helmet," "The Player Queen," "Plays for Dancers," "The Cat and the Moon," "The Words Upon the Window Pane" and "King Oedipus."

Yeats wrote more effectively in verse than prose, although there was frequently scant difference. Innumerable articles slipped from his pen and, as the years passed, he came to be synonymous with the Irish Movement in literature. Nevertheless, Sean O'Faolain, a countryman, notes:

"He began independently of Ireland. Some of his finest work was done under her inspiration. But his positively finest work of all--his later poems--are the work of a man who has again retired into himself and who writes clean out of his 'heart of darkness.'" "The Tower" and "The Winding Stair" were Yeats' last notable works.

His contribution to Eire will grow out of the Abbey Theatre group, for the intensity of that campaign brought Ireland wide recognition and far exceeded anything else Yeats accomplished in a non-literary field.

True, he defended divorce from the floor of the Dail, pleaded for a restricted use of Gaelic because he had utterly "failed to learn any language but English," given stump speeches on the tax question, presided at official functions, inspected schools and in every way conducted himself after the manner of public politicians.

"I am a Cosgrave man," Yeats once said, "but I believe that de Valera is dead right in his dispute with Great Britain. Whether or not Ireland can stand the racket is a ticklish question . . . We are a nation of believers. We produce anti-clerics, but atheists, never."

In 1917 he married Georgia Hyde Lees of Wrexham, Wales, a woman who is said to possess powers as a spiritualist medium. They lived for many years with their two children in an ancient tower on the outermost coast of Ireland.



**Crowded Years Recalled** Three years ago to a day the poet suffered a heart attack at Palma, Mallorca. He rallied, however, and in May published a volume hailed as among the outstanding intellectual autobiographies of our time. "Dramatis Personae" continues the thread of reveries started in the Nineties and covers minutely the crowded years at the turn of the century when the Irish Dramatic Movement was conceived. In it his duel with George Moore flares anew.

A one-volume reprint of the autobiographical material was released only last August. In 1938, too, a book of plays by Yeats attracted interest because he had rewritten one of them from its original prose form into verse. He completed an anthology called "The Oxford Book of Modern Verse," which was seen as a remarkable reflection of his own preferences--willful and individual as usual.

His name appeared before the public in typical fashion during the last two years: When he engaged a Boston professor in argument over a play offered by the Abbey Theatre, when he delivered a radio broadcast of a poem and later commented on the political aspects of the microphone, or the occasion of his statement that the Free State government would strive to regain certain art treasures now held in London. Of the radio, Mr. Yeats explained: "I speak quietly, with confidence, as if I were addressing my wife."

Today the words of Yeats' poem "The Shadowy Waters," written in 1900, come to mind:

Could we but give us wholly to the dreams,  
And get into their world that to the sense  
Is shadow, and not linger wretchedly  
Among substantial things.

*We print here the first of three stanzas  
of a poem  
W. H. Auden wrote on Yeats passing.*

He disappeared in the dead of winter:  
The brooks were frozen, the airports almost deserted,  
And snow disfigured the public statues;  
The mercury sank in the mouth of the dying day.  
What instruments we have agree  
The day of his death was a dark cold day.

Far from his illness  
The wolves ran on through the evergreen forests,  
The peasant river was untempted by the fashionable quays;  
By mourning tongues  
The death of the poet was kept from his poems.

But for him it was his last afternoon as himself,  
An afternoon of nurses and rumours;

The provinces of his body revolted,  
The squares of his mind were empty,  
Silence invaded the suburbs,  
The current of his feeling failed;  
he became his admirers.

Now he is scattered among a hundred cities  
And wholly given over to unfamiliar affections,  
To find his happiness in another kind of wood  
And be punished under a foreign code of conscience.

The words of a dead man  
Are modified in the guts of the living.  
But in the importance and noise of to-morrow  
When the brokers are roaring like beasts on the floor of the Bourse,  
And the poor have the sufferings to which they are fairly accustomed,  
And each in the cell of himself is almost convinced of his freedom,  
A few thousand will think of this day  
As one thinks of a day when one did something slightly unusual.  
What instruments we have agree  
The day of his death was a dark cold day.







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